MARCH 15, 1993 49145 $2.95 VOL. 45 NO. 5

SIXTIES DREAM, NINETIES NIGHTMARE

Abortion & the GOP / The New Jet Set

NATIONAL REVIEW

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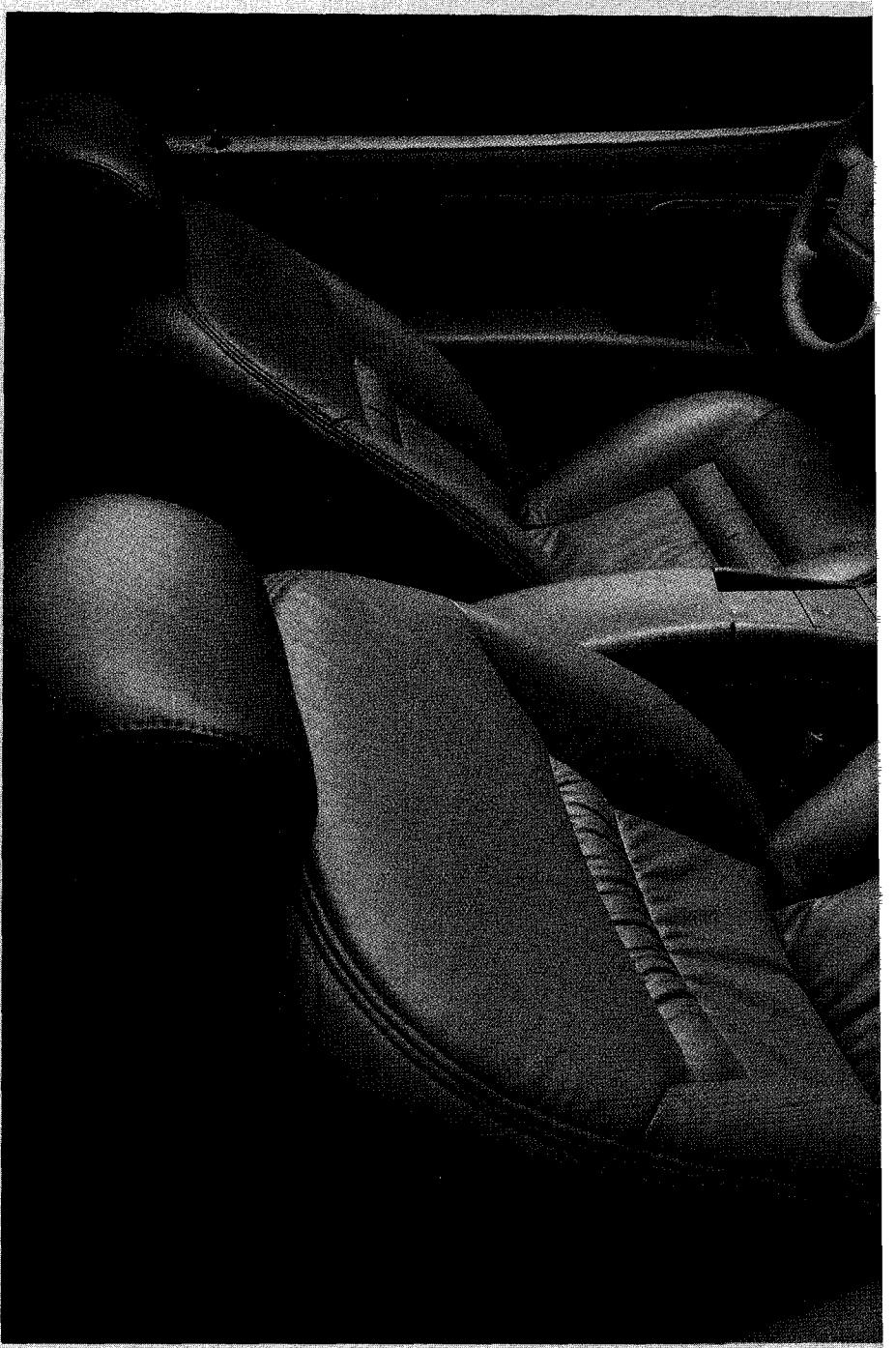

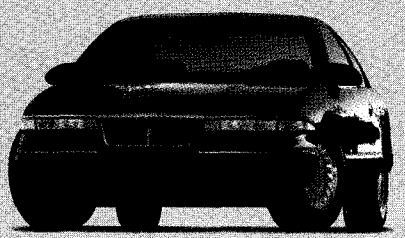

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NATIONAL REVIEW

MARCH 15, 1993 VOL. XLV, NO. 5

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The Audit Bureau

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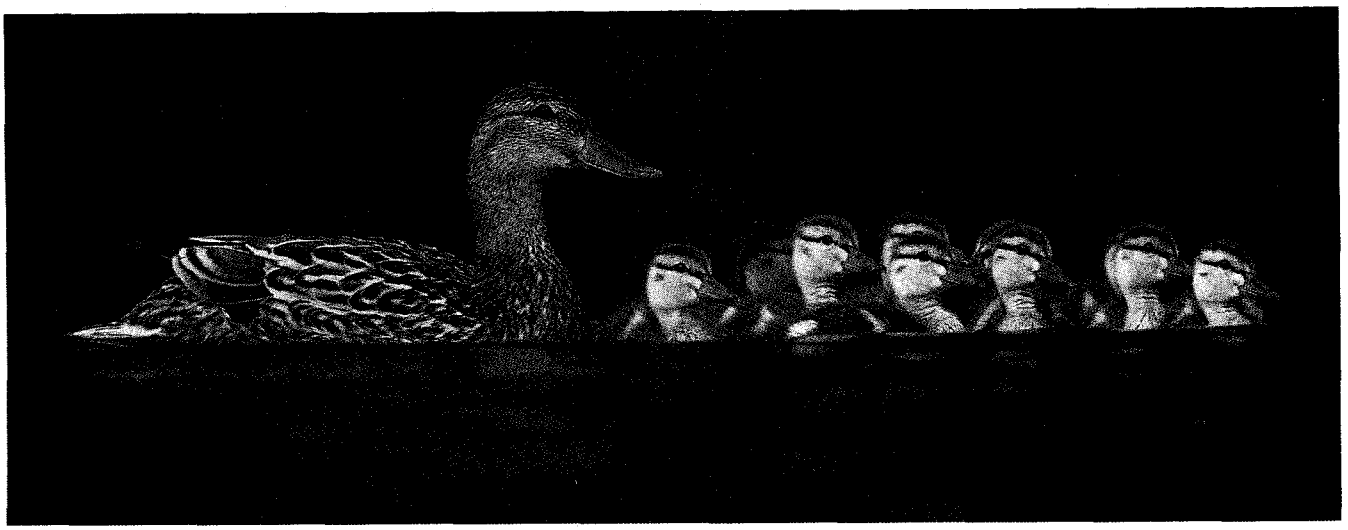
It was an unlikely alliance.

But when five state governments, two wildlife conservation groups and one energy company came together, 32 species of threatened wildfowl secured a brighter future.



The partnership called itself The Playa Lakes Joint Venture. Its mission, to enhance and protect the wetlands resource of the Playa Lakes region critical to wildlife.

Boosted by grants from private landowners, state wildlife agencies in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico and Colorado, with the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service and Ducks Unlimited, Inc., matched donations from Phillips Petroleum to protect vital avian breeding and migrating habitats. Habitats that with resources and restoration could slow the dramatic decline of millions of ducks, geese and cranes from lack of water.

It was an unlikely alliance. But when five state governments, two wildlife conservation groups and one energy company came in with concern and came out with solutions, it seemed more inspired than unlikely, after all.

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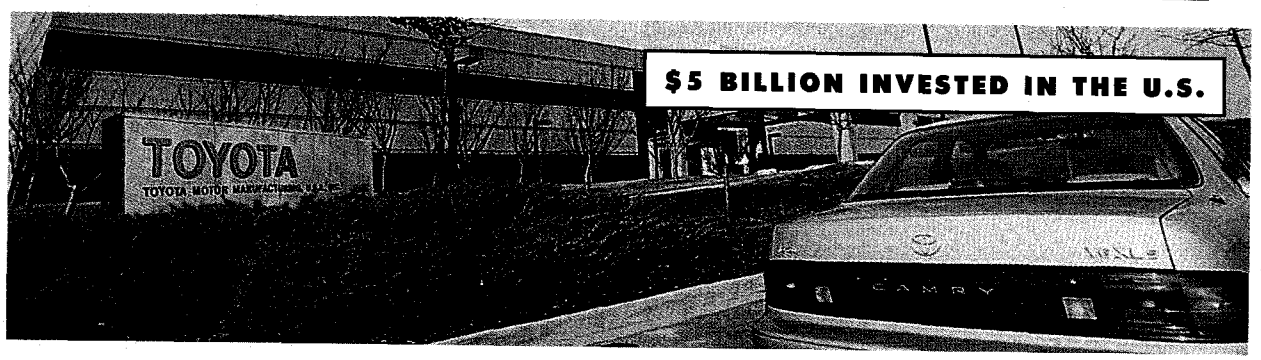

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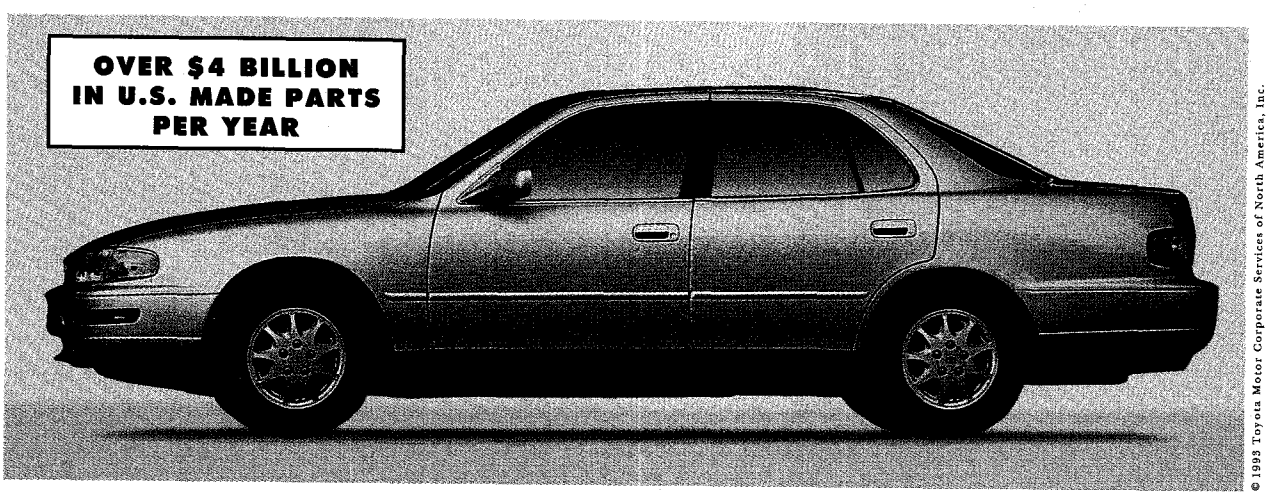

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LETTERS

Marching Leftward

William Rusher gives a highly misleading impression of the current situation when he states, "as the final decade of the twentieth century unfolds . . . the principles of free-market economics, if not yet always their practice, are dominant everywhere, even in Peking" ["Forward, March," Feb. 15]. In the Communist countries, both rhetoric and practice are moving in the right direction, but in the West, especially in the United States, while rhetoric has been becoming more free market, practice is becoming more socialist.

As Rusher says, "it is hard to remember . . . how grim the battles on those issues were in 1950." Yet, in 1950, total government spending, federal, state, and local, amounted to less than 30 per cent of national income; in 1992, to nearly 45. In addition, government-mandated expenditures by individuals and businesses have multiplied manifold. In 1950 the Great Society was still to come, as were Medicare, Medicaid, the excrescences of affirmative action, the Clean Air Act, and so on and on. While the rhetoric was far more socialist in 1950 than today, in terms of the fraction of our resources controlled by government entities, the U.S. is today more than half socialist, compared to perhaps a third in 1950. Hardly progress.

We did make some progress during the Reagan years, but that progress was more than lost during the Bush years, and is hardly likely to be regained during the Clinton years. I am reminded of a line in an ancient musical, *Pins and Needles*, honoring the International Ladies Garment Workers Union: "One step forward, two steps backward, that's the way we progress."

Milton Friedman
Hoover Institution
Stanford, Calif.

America's Border-Control Problem

Canadian expatriate Peter Brimelow's somewhat intemperate rejoinders to Bob Bartley and Julian Simon offer lame rationalizations for his quest to pull the immigration ladder up after himself ["Why Control the Borders?" Feb. 1]. The United States was founded by individuals who for the most part viewed the Old World with disdain. But perhaps those of us who support more immigration should take heed of Mr. Brimelow's advice and be more discriminating in our advocacy. We could begin by cutting back on the flood of immigrants from the former British Empire whose sense of ethnic superiority runs so counter to the American experiment.

Edward H. Crane
President
Cato Institute
Washington, D.C.

The arguments used by Julian L. Simon on the subject of immigration seem to rest heavily on a false understanding of Hawaiian society. Neither the remaining descendants of the Polynesian peoples who had settled Hawaii before it's discovery by Captain Cook or the descendants of the Chinese and Japanese laborers who were brought to the islands in the nineteenth century to work the sugar-cane fields ever quite became "Americanized." Rather they became distinct parts of a large subculture hopelessly separated by their ancestry from the dominant white landowners, even developing their own language. Hawaii is not as Mr. Simon states, "quintessentially American," but is rather closer to being a foreign country with a very non-American culture.

Thomas J. O'Donnell
Phoenix, Ariz.

Sick Minds, Sick Judges

I strongly disagreed with E. Fuller Torrey's article "The Mental Health Mess" [Dec. 28]. It was misleading and your readers have the right to know that the studies on which Dr. Torrey bases his claim that it is *certain* that mental illness has a biophysiological cause are flawed. One of these studies had Dr. Torrey on its team of researchers, and its report in *The New England Journal of Medicine* was biased. It compared the brains of identical twins—one diagnosed schizophrenic, the other not—and found no differences not attributable to the medication which all those diagnosed schizophrenic were on. The report clearly attempted to de-emphasize this.

It's misleading of Dr. Torrey to say that the medication has a specifically anti-psychotic effect and is useful in "controlling" symptoms. What Dr. Torrey calls control is little more than a chemical lobotomy and the use of it is so unethical that it should be illegal. Not only has it been shown to cause permanent brain damage but it is responsible for an epidemic of Tardive Dyskenesia worldwide. He claims that the medication was responsible for clearing out mental institutions when it was actually public policy. This also was misleading.

Wynne F. Prescott
Minneapolis, Minn.

Although I agree with most of what Dr. Torrey writes, I fault him for not giving more importance to the role played by the federal judiciary, and probably state judiciaries, in this whole rotten mental-health business. Rather than faulting the lawyers representing the ACLU and the Mental Health Law Project, he should fault federal and state judiciaries. The ACLU and the MHLP would be unimportant bumps in the road were it not for the ridiculous judicial decisions that our courts have handed down. Until those decisions are overturned and the problem returned to state and federal authorities, not to judges for decision, we will live with this mental-health mess.

Albert N. Garland
Columbus, Ga.

Mr. Prescott is incorrect. Structural brain changes commonly seen in the patients with schizophrenia have been documented in many patients who have never received any medication. The brain changes are part of the disease process, not due to medication. Medication is helpful for most, but not all, patients.

Mr. Garland is correct that state and federal judges have handed down many decisions regarding seriously mentally ill individuals that appear ridiculous in retrospect. But he underestimates lawyers representing the ACLU and MHLP who initiated the suits precipitating such decisions. Can you imagine the outcry if we allowed individuals with Alzheimer's disease to end up homeless on the streets and in jails, as we do individuals with schizophrenia? Such lawyers do not think logically about mentally ill individuals who cannot think logically. —EFT

Oops!

We apologize to Paul Kinsella for mistakenly crediting his cartoon on page 70 of our March 1 issue to Mal. Our sincerest apologies.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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FROM THE EDITOR

Liberal of the Week

■ This issue, we devote a small forest to the President's economic program. So I will add only one comment. It comes from a critique of J. K. Galbraith's premature Clintonism by the British economist, Ralph Harris:

"Professor Galbraith analyzes the problems of the affluent society as 'private affluence and public squalor.' His solution: extend public squalor."

Ralph Harris said that over thirty years ago. Sadly, it is always topical.

■ "Person of the Week" on ABC News has a regular pattern. The "person" being celebrated turns out one week to be a liberal, the next week to be a Good Samaritan—a feisty old lady, say, who is fighting City Hall on behalf of her neighbors—then a liberal again, then another Good Samaritan, and so *ad infinitum*.

In the mind of a TV producer, a liberal and a Good Samaritan are the same thing. They both represent Good Works. But the producer also senses that not everyone feels that way and so, rather than annoy people with a straight run of liberals, he throws in an occasional old lady as camouflage.

But what if a liberal and a feisty old lady clash with each other?

In recent months, New York City has been disturbed by a battle between the liberal schools chancellor, Joseph Fernandez, and the president of the community board of school district 24 in Queens, feisty 61-year-old grandmother Mary Cummins, over the chancellor's support for the so-called Rainbow Curriculum. Mr. Fernandez had the backing of the mayor, almost the whole municipal establishment, the influential gay and lesbian lobby, and most of the city's news outlets; Mrs. Cummins had the parents on her side, which is not usually enough anywhere, let alone in Fun City.

But as public disquiet grew, Mrs. Cummins won over members of the Board of Education where another feisty lady, Irene Impellizzeri, was resisting the HIV/AIDS curriculum.

ABC News thus had a conflict between Mr. Fernandez and *two* feisty ladies which, in these gender-conscious times, would seem to decide the matter. Yet when Mr. Fernandez was fired—ABC News at once made him its "Person of the Week."

He had fallen, said Peter Jennings, because he supported "teaching first- and second-grade children tolerance for gays and lesbians" in the Rainbow Curriculum. Ah, tolerance. Who but a bigot could quarrel with that?

But as articles by Richard Vigilante in *NR*, William Tucker in *The American Spectator*, and Midge Decter in the current *Commentary* have revealed, the Rainbow Curriculum went somewhat beyond tolerance.

It informed teachers that 10 per cent of the first and second graders before them would grow up to become homosexuals (when the best estimate seems to be between 2 and 3 per cent). It urged them, on that basis, "to include references to lesbian/gay people in all curricular areas." And it recommended "creative play, books, visitors, etc." to that end—including *Heather Has Two Mommies*, *Gloria Goes to Gay Pride*, and a gay/lesbian coloring book for children in kindergarten (presumably to leave no stern untoned).

The HIV/AIDS curriculum was still more explicit. Children in grade 5 (i.e., ten year olds) were to be taught that a primary means of exposure to HIV is "sexual intercourse (oral, vaginal, or anal) with an infected person" that is unprotected or inadequately protected by "any barrier, such as condom and contraceptive foam." And 12-year-olds were to be instructed in the use of condoms.

Peter Jennings ended thus: "And so we choose Joseph Fernandez, who had certainly helped us to understand better what a challenge improving education and understanding really are . . ."

His solution: extend public squalor.

And then the only feisty old lady you need worry about is Dr. Ruth.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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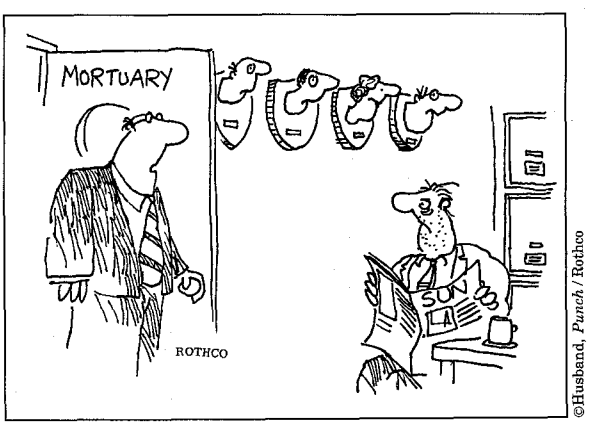
FOR THE RECORD

■ Cabinet members are screaming to White House personnel chief **Bruce Lindsey** for warm bodies to fill important Administration positions. However, diversity is getting in the way. **Evans & Novak** report that **Susan Thomases**, a New York left-wing activist and unpaid Clinton advisor with White House pass, has pushed pal **Hillary Clinton** to enforce de-facto quota law—one minority or woman for every white male. . . . Despite those empty desks number of overall government employment has grown steadily. There are now more people working in government in America than in U.S. manufacturing industry—18.2 million to 18.1 million, reports Institute for Policy Innovation. . . . Similar to Tax Freedom Day, Cost of Government Day, established by Americans for Tax Reform, is when citizens are free from burdens of not only taxes but onerous government regulations as well. Date to be announced in April is expected to be in late June. . . . Ballyhoo over **Bill Clinton**'s strict ethics guidelines seems to be exaggerated. Executive order preventing White House revolving door for lobbyists effects only about 20 top advisors. . . . Top aide to Commerce Secretary **Ron Brown** is **Robert Stein**, who led fund-raising operation for **Alan Cranston** that led to former senator's censure by the Senate. . . . So far Bill Clinton has gone longer into his first term without a press conference than any President since **Dwight Eisenhower**. Press secretary **Dee Dee Myers** said about when to expect one: "I think this year is a safe bet." . . . Although Secretary of State **Warren Christopher** said ambassadorships would not go to big-money contributors, Democratic Party First Lady **Pamela Harriman** is likely to become ambassador to France. . . . Joint Chiefs chairman **Colin Powell** rumored to have said he would leave his post earlier than scheduled if Mr. Clinton wants someone more amenable to cuts in Defense and lifting the ban on gays in the military. . . . Meanwhile, on the Right, former deputy assistant secretary for legislation at HHS, **Marshall Wittmann**, who is Jewish, moves over to head legislative affairs for the Christian Coalition.

■ Pro-life Pennsylvania Gov. **Robert Casey** (muzzled at Democratic Convention) addressed House subcommittee considering Freedom of Choice Act. Casey was the only pro-life witness to address hearing. Rep. **David Bonior**, among those congressional Democrats who oppose bill, said recently, "this legislation would virtually guarantee abortion on demand." . . . When **Margaret Thatcher** coined the phrase "nanny state" she didn't expect to be taken seriously. Two New York state Conservative Party lawmakers of all people, **Joseph Delfino** and **Suzanne Swanson**, have proposed a law that would require nannies and au pairs to be licensed by the state. . . . At centuries-old, women's **Smith** College, the term "fresh*men*" has been replaced by "first-year students."

■ Moscow could default on up to $4.2 billion in agricultural loans backed by the U.S. Government, having stopped paying interest in November 1992, adding a sizable item to President Clinton's budget-deficit reduction schedules. . . ."I think [**Yeltsin**] is about at the end of his usefulness and someone else will step on the scene," said **Richard Armitage**, formerly **Bush** coordinator of U.S. assistance to the former Soviet states, now advisor to President Clinton. . . . Organized crime has become the number-one threat to Russia's strategic interests and national security," Mr. Yeltsin told gathering of government ministers and security officials. . . . Special Presidential Envoy **Valeri Yermolov** went to Pyongyang to announce that Moscow would no longer honor its 32-year-old treaty of mutual defense and wants the North Koreans to pay up their $4 billion debt to the Russians. . . . Northwest Airlines trips from Detroit to Tokyo will now fly into same Russian air space that Korean Air flight 007 flew into when Soviets blew it out of sky.



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"Er, Gibson, could I have a word, please?"

■ If Japan becomes more involved in UN peacekeeping operations, Secretary General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** told reporters in Tokyo, "power [in the UN] will be divided between five, six, and ten countries," hinting at a swap of Japanese troops for a permanent seat on security council—which Tokyo wants and the U.S. supports. . . . The U.S. dollar reached an all-time low against the Japanese yen on February 21 as pessimism gained on Tokyo markets about President Clinton's economic package. . . . Twice on consecutive days, **Warren Christopher** said, "Japan is the most important bilateral relationship for the U.S." . . . Japan is expected soon to acknowledge officially that some Koreans were forcibly recruited as "comfort women" for Japanese soldiers during WWII and seek some non-government means of compensation. . . . "There are some trying to portray the anti-war past of Clinton as a matter of personal weakness, while we consider such a stand a mark of strength," Iraqi dictator **Saddam Hussein** told former Attorney General **Ramsey Clark** (once boss to Secretary of State Warren Christopher) during Clark's visit to Baghdad.

■ Rumor making rounds in Washington: When teachers at **Sidwell Friends** came to **Chelsea Clinton** to ask for a meeting with her mother, the First Daughter said: "Oh, she's much too busy, you'll have to talk to my father."

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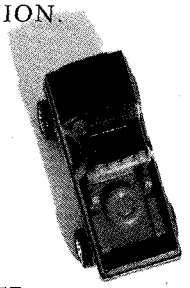

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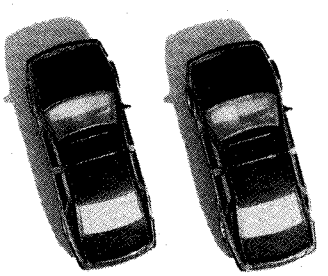

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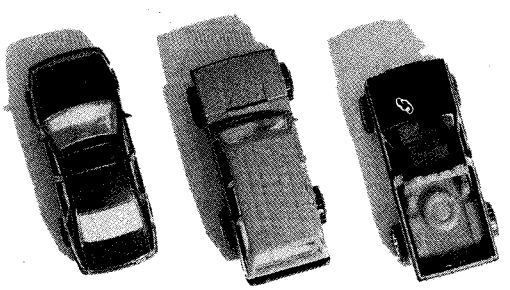

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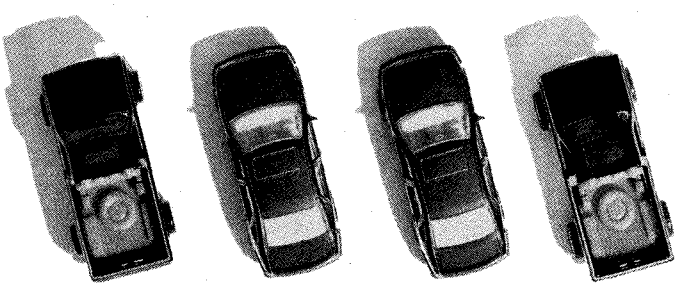

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THE WEEK

■ "Sacrifice"? "Patriotism"? Don't burn that flag, kid. Someday you may want to wrap yourself in it.

■ So far, only Stage 1 of Reversing the Reagan Revolution has been revealed—the big jump in the top income-tax rate and the new expandable BTU tax on energy. Stage 2 requires $100 billion or more to provide health care to the uninsured. Sin taxes on alcohol, tobacco, and guns won't cover that. So get braced for the taxation of employer-provided health insurance. Stage 3 will be the taxation of pension contributions as current income. To gear up for this raid on private retirement income, Mr. Clinton has nominated a vociferous advocate of pension taxation, Alicia Munnell, as assistant treasury secretary for economic policy. Her plan is to fund public infrastructure investment by taxing both contributions and the annual earnings of the pension funds as current income. In addition, she wants to confiscate 15 per cent of all existing pension-fund assets to compensate the government for its failure to tax pension income in the past. Mrs. Munnell comes to the Treasury from the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston where she directed flawed studies that damaged the reputation of the bank's research staff. *Forbes* exposed her most famous study, which claimed to prove racial bias in mortgage lending but which had failed to control for credit-worthiness and default rates. The Treasury staff must fear that their reputation will be her next victim.

■ Foes of big government, high taxes, and re-regulation have lost a once-valuable ally. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has decided to join the Clinton team in extending the size and scope of government. This month, senior vice president William Archey fired chief economist Larry Hunter for signing onto a coalition letter opposing an increase in energy taxes—a longstanding Chamber position reaffirmed by its Tax Policy Committee a few days before the firing. Mr. Hunter's dismissal is only the latest example of the Chamber's defection on key issues. Under Mr. Archey's direction, with the apparent acquiescence of President Richard Lesher, the Chamber has abandoned its traditionally conservative positions on free trade, taxes, health-care mandates, family leave, and school choice. During the presidential campaign Mr. Archey instructed Chamber staff that criticisms of Clinton–Gore policy proposals would be grounds for dismissal. The Chamber's apostasy, in the name of "being a player" with the current Washington regime, leaves the 600,000-member National Federation of Independent Business as a powerful but lonely voice for small business on Capitol Hill. NFIB's ranks should swell as disillusioned Chamber members recognize their dues are financing the Clinton agenda.

■ President Clinton says that critics of his economic program should "be specific" in identifying areas in which further spending cuts would be merited. In the interest of contributing to the ongoing debate, therefore, we recommend that the following expenditure reductions be considered: rural electrification, farm-price supports, cotton promotion, National Endowment for the Arts, Commission on Civil Rights, Tennessee Valley Authority, International Development Cooperation Agency, Environmental Protection Agency, Small Business Administration, minority business set-asides, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Export-Import Bank, Farm Credit Administration, Peace Corps, Railroad Retirement Board, National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Election Commission, National Endowment for the Humanities, Government Printing Office, General Services Administration, Office of Technology Assessment, Government Accounting Office, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Labor Relations Authority, Federal Housing Finance Board, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Commerce, Davis-Bacon, Department of Energy, Department of Education, Architect of the

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■ The Clinton Administration has found its theme: "Socialism in one country."

■ We hate to be the fly-in-the-ointment, but we fear that the volunteer work of the First Lady may violate parts of the Anti-Nepotism Act, the Government in the Sunshine Act, the Federal Advisory Committees Act, and the Federal Anti-Deficiency Act (prohibiting the government from accepting volunteer services). We look forward to the attorney general-designate's analyses of these laws (as well as of those currently being violated by George Stephanopoulos) at her forthcoming confirmation hearing.

■ Janet Reno, the latest nominee for attorney general, opposes capital punishment, favors abortion, believes in affirmative action, opposes mandatory minimum jail sentences, thinks poverty is a principal cause of violent crime, aggressively supports alternatives to incarceration, endorses "children's rights" (as the attack on parental rights is currently called), describes as "hysteria" the public response to drug-related crime, favors strong prosecution of environmental laws, opposes incarceration of first-time drug offenders, is tough on police officers accused of being impolite to criminal suspects, and asserts that "my highest priority is to protect the rights of the guilty not to convict the guilty." She has also written: "One of the reasons I love lawyers is because they can be more innovative and more creative than anybody I know . . . particularly now as people look for shortcuts to the problem of drugs, lawyers have to stand as the ultimate protectors of the Constitution." If we combine those two statements, the result is the jurisprudence of the ACLU: the manipulation of constitutional rights with the practical effect of allowing criminals to prey upon law-abiding citizens while lawyers congratulate themselves on their dedication to due process. Our expectations are not high, but we hope the Judiciary Committee will explore these matters in some depth. The lives of an unknown number of Americans depend upon their doing this. *Cherchez la femme.*

■ The Senate vote (76–23) to codify into law the ban on HIV-infected immigrants prevents President Clinton from delivering on a classic liberal promise: a symbolically "compassionate" measure that might do real harm. In offering his amendment, Senator Don Nickles (R., Okla.) argued that to remove the HIV ban would risk admitting into the U.S. people who might transmit a terminal illness to others and who would themselves be eligible for costly treatment now amounting to an estimated $100,000. Senator Ted Kennedy labeled these arguments "hogwash," but failed to present any practical benefit that would flow from lifting the prohibition. Thirty-four of his Democratic colleagues defected from Clinton and supported the ban. Senate Republicans were reminded of the important votes they forced in the late 1970s holding nervous Democrats accountable for their liberal agenda and contributing to Republicans' winning the Senate in 1980. Can it be merely coincidence that George Mitchell has kept the Senate largely out of session since the vote?

■ The same week that we learned Zoë Baird's illegal-alien driver had a valid driver's license, House Democrats, led by Al Swift (Wash.), passed the "motor-voter bill" that automatically registers driver's license applicants as voters. The bill also requires that states provide voter-registration forms at welfare and unemployment offices. It is is expected to win swift approval in the Senate, which last fall failed to override President Bush's veto by a 62 to 38 vote; President Clinton has already promised to sign it. Republicans argue correctly that the bill will lead to widespread voter fraud and imposes heavy administrative burdens on states. Democrats care little about either problem, given the opportunity to enroll

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You're still renting the limo and tux,
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You're the taxable kind,
What he got was a barrel of yuks.

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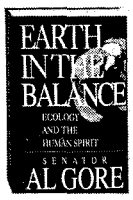

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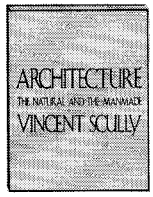

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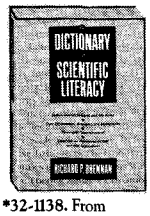

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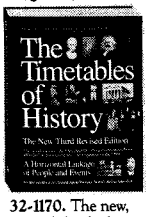

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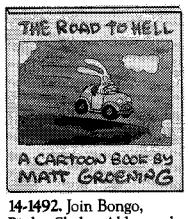

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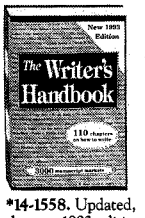

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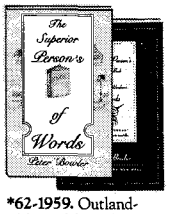

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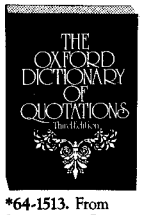

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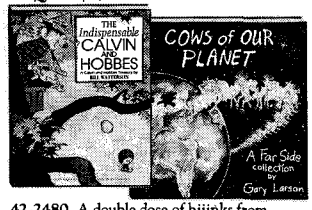

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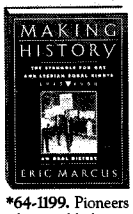

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large numbers of their constituency. A little Republican creativity is in order. The bill should be amended to reach out to the truly disenfranchised by providing voter-registration forms at gun shops, fur salons, and private schools.

■ The same Democrats stole away more of our citizenship by giving the right to vote in the House of Representatives to delegates from Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Samoa. We now have representation without taxation.

■ Promotion of the worldwide movement toward democracy was one of the main themes of Bill Clinton's campaign. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were singled out for praise in his Georgetown speech on December 12, 1991, and in his Milwaukee address on October 1, 1992. "We should build on the success of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and expand our successful surrogate broadcasting." So spake the Great Man in Milwaukee. If you're one of those neoconservatives or Scoop Jackson Democrats who swooned over Bill because of his Wilsonian passions, eat your heart out: both RFE and RL are slated to be phased out by 1995, according to the fine print of the Administration's new economic plan. A long-planned Voice of America relay station in Israel's Negev Desert, to boost transmissions into the crucial regions of Central Asia, will also be killed. We hope conservatives in Congress (and liberals) will rally to save the radios. The sums involved are a pittance, and democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics is as fragile as a Clinton promise.

■ Last fall, a private American researcher working in Hanoi's Central Military Museum came across a cache of 4,800 photographs of U.S. POWs, plane-crash sites, and casualties. Not only did official U.S. and congressional missions to Hanoi proclaim this a breakthrough, but the discovery played no small role in the new measures President Bush announced at the end of the year easing the economic embargo. The U.S. also forked out cash for the photos, at prices ranging from $5 to $250 a frame. Now it turns out, embarrassingly, that the photos were Vietnam News Agency propaganda photos, widely disseminated during the war, almost all of which were already available either in the Pentagon, or in the (private) Indochina Archive at Berkeley. (They are also for sale at the Vietnam News Agency at about $1.70 a copy—and used to be available for 30 cents to $1 until the demand went up!) Something to bear in mind when the Leader of the Free World, then a Yank at Oxford, attempts to accelerate reconciliation with our peace-loving friends in Hanoi.

■ Though we've never thought much of the French Socialist Party, we never expected our feelings to be shared by one of its most moderate and respected figures, Michel Rocard. Speaking in Tours on February 17, Rocard called for dissolving the Socialist Party and replacing it with a party of liberals, intellectuals, ecologists, and other kindred spirits. Old-style socialism, he made it clear, was doomed. Rocard's performance was widely seen as an effort to distance himself from his party's expected debacle in the March National Assembly elections. Despite Bill Clinton's nostalgic foray into the politics of class envy, income redistribution, and big government, the fate of the French Socialists (and perhaps also their Italian comrades) should be a warning that old-style statism has lost touch with reality at this stage of history. Reality usually wins in the end.

■ Several weeks ago we noted that the Pacifica radio stations were asking the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a special, one-time grant of $350,000 for a news center in Washington. In view of the manifest political bias on these stations, this seemed an appalling misuse of public moneys. We are happy to report that CPB thought so too: the Pacifica request was denied. Bravo to CPB and its President, Richard Carlson. Unfortunately, the story does not end here. In 1991, the Pacifica stations received over $912,000 in public funds from CPB; last year the figure was raised to just over $990,000, including nearly $168,000 for the Los Angeles Pacifica station (KPFK) that broadcast "Afrikan Mental Liberation Weekend." The appropriate figure for 1993 should be zero, and this figure should not be increased until Pacifica starts obeying federal laws that require political balance in return for such grants. Mr. Clinton's search for ways to reduce the budget deficit might start here. No sweat.

■ After six months at the top of the *New York Times* best-seller list, Rush Limbaugh's *The Way Things Ought to Be* has finally gotten a review—snotty, of course—from the *Times* itself. "The satire here is not subtle," sniffs Walter Goodman. Neither was Juvenal. You can get more common sense (not to mention rollicking fun) in an hour of Limbaugh than in a week of the *Times*. It's amusing how much alarm the man inspires in liberals, who now dominate the three branches of government, the mass media, and academia but still worry that the nation suffers from insufficient unanimity of opinion. In the past few weeks, Limbaugh has been attacked by *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The New Yorker*, and *Nightline*, all of whom fret that talk radio poses a threat to democracy. Actually, it may be the last stronghold *of* democracy. On the one hand, we're told that Limbaugh is out of the mainstream; on the other, that he's too popular. Go figure.

■ Campus Watch: Last spring David John Ayers,

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after enduring a two-month campaign of vilification by campus feminists, was canned from his job as assistant professor of sociology at Dallas Baptist University! Mr. Ayers writes about his ordeal in *Heterodoxy*, the lively firecracker under the academic Left. His offense was defending the traditional social roles of males and females in a twenty-minute talk at a faculty luncheon. In other words, when it came to one of the most important campus faiths, feminism, this Born Again Christian was a non-believer. Excommunication for Mr. Ayers, who says the political atmosphere at Dallas Baptist is becoming more common at evangelical colleges nationwide, would soon follow. Within ten days of being called before an ad-hoc committee to defend himself against unspecified charges of misconduct, Mr. Ayers was fired. John Jeffrey, a dean who questioned the University's disregard for academic freedom, went with him, sacked the same day. Bible-based schools are *supposed* to be zealous in their defense of dogma; if only they still knew which one.

■ Donna Shalala's advice to her own mother about life under Donna Shalala at Health and Human Services: Get out your checkbook.

Clintonomics

IT WAS ALWAYS a small nagging fear. It wasn't likely, but—maybe Bill Clinton really was a "New Democrat." Maybe he really had got the message about supply and demand. Maybe he actually would be better than George Bush on spending, taxing, and regulation (not hard.) Then he could completely wrong-foot the reeling Republicans on the economy, just as the Australian and New Zealand Labor Parties had wrong-footed their conservative oppositions. And the loony Left traveling in his baggage train would be in office for good.

Well, we can relax. About that, at least. On the strength of the economic plan unveiled to Congress, we can say with confidence: Bill Clinton is no Bob Hawke. Instead, he and his entire Administration have turned out to be Bourbons (that's Bourbon as in the French Royal family—not the whisky, alas). Exactly as Talleyrand observed of the Bourbons when they were returned to power after the Revolution, the Clintonistas have learned nothing—and forgotten nothing. And the Bourbons, needless to say, didn't stay in power very long.

Of course, it is far too early to write Clinton off. He still has the widespread goodwill extended to new Presidents. And his tax-and-spend package, unlike George Bush's 1990 budget capitulation, will descend on a recovering, not a weakening, economy.

But Clinton's situation is eerily similar to that inherited by Jimmy Carter in 1976, after Gerald Ford's flat-footed but worthy fight against inflation. The cast of mind revealed by the Clinton economic plan strongly suggests he is following the same script. And the fat lady has not sung yet—Hillary Clinton and her $90-billion health-care proposals are still waiting in the wings. Summary of plot: government interventionism leads to economic stall, panic monetary stimulus, stagflation.

In the week following Mr. Clinton's speech, even friendly analysts laughed off his claim that his package contained serious spending cuts. The *New York Times* counted $207 billion in net revenue increases (that is, setting tax increases against Administration concessions to select constituencies like high technology) and only $117 billion in net spending cuts. That amounts to $1 in spending cuts for every $1.77 in tax increases. Less friendly estimates suggest that in some years the unfavorable ratio could be 5 to 1, 10 to 1, or even 18 to 1. No one has suggested that there is any way in which the figures can be jiggered to show spending cuts outrunning tax hikes. Indeed, in the short run, federal spending will actually increase quite sharply, because of the "stimulus" provisions.

Some part of this, for example, the sleight of hand which transformed a higher tax on Social Security payments into a "spending cut," may be brushed off as politics as usual. But the pattern of mendacity that surrounds Bill Clinton is more interesting than that. He seems to be simply unable to resist misleading on small things, even though he is bound to be found out. Thus he told Congress that his 36 per cent "top marginal rate" would start at $180,000—but that's adjusted gross income; it actually starts at $140,000 taxable income. And his "top marginal rate" does not include the "millionaire's surtax" on incomes above $250,000, which means that it rises to 39.5 per cent. Nor his increased Medicare tax which means it doesn't stop rising until it reaches 42.5 per cent. Similarly, the President insists that the bulk of taxes will fall on "the rich." But he achieves this by for example systematically misstating the impact of his highly regressive energy tax. According to some estimates it will cost a family earning $40,000 not $17 a month but $50 a month.

This compulsion to cheat on minor points reflects a personality type quite often found among professional politicians in democracies—for example, Britain's Harold Wilson or, more recently, Canada's Brian Mulroney. Obviously, it can be successful, for a time. But it tends to culminate in devastating disillusionment and public contempt.

The economic theory behind the Clinton plan amounts to a total repudiation of Ronald Reagan. Marginal tax rates on income are to be raised sharply on the hypothesis that (as deputy director at OMB Alice Rivlin told journalists in a post-speech

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interview) the rich can never be deterred from earning. In the wake of the Reagan boom, which appears to have been consigned to an Orwellian memory hole, this must be judged an article of faith that cannot be shaken by facts or logic.

What can and should be shaken is the rhetorical Trojan Horse by means of which this tax increase has been introduced: a false popular understanding of the problem of the federal budget deficit, to which some conservatives have inadvertently contributed. Of course, even if Clinton were to be successful, the deficit at about 2.5 per cent of GDP will merely have returned to where it was, thanks to Gramm–Rudman, at the end of the Reagan Era. Then it would start going up. Moreover, if we were in those special circumstances when the deficit can be a serious problem—if it were being monetized, for example, or if the federal interest burden were unmanagable—it could be eliminated by a flexible freeze, just holding government growth below the inflation rate.

Far more important than the deficit, however, is the Federal Government's share of GDP. This is currently about 24 per cent, with state and local governments taking about 10 per cent. These levels have never been previously achieved in U.S. peacetime history (indeed they match World War I spending). Money spent by government is not available for productive use, regardless of whether it is taxed or borrowed away from the private sector. That should be the focus of public debate, as Milton Friedman has long urged. Then tax increases would be seen not as a solution to, but as an aggravation of, the problem.

Significantly, in her interview Alice Rivlin conceded that the Administration had simply not bothered to estimate what the Federal Government's share of GNP would be in 1997, after the "stimulus" spending is complete, although she suggested it would decline "modestly," i.e., by less than a percentage point. That liberals feel no necessity to defend this flank is a profound condemnation of the quality of public debate and of conservatives' role in it.

The political theory behind the Clinton play is simply a reiteration of the Democrats' 1992 election strategy. Minorities are to be corralled by specific favors, like the summer-jobs program in the inner cities. The rest of the country is to be divided, this time along class lines: the middle class versus "the rich" (i.e., anyone earning over $115,000 a year).

This strategy is not magic. It was only a qualified success in 1992: Mr. Clinton's share of the popular vote was lower than that of Michael Dukakis in 1988; only the intervention of Ross Perot made his election possible. In power, as in the campaign, the President's success will depend upon Republican incompetence. And that is no more than a probability.

Back to Price Controls

Like Chinese tots whose tiny feet
Were bound to titillate effete
Officials in the old regime,
Drug companies will start to scream
As Hillary and Bill apply
Restraints to make a Manchu sigh.

W. H. VON DREELE

Lethal Injection

"TWO for the price of one" was Mr. Clinton's campaign warning to American voters about his wife's likely influence in the White House. The former chair of the leftist Children's Defense Fund seems to be setting the pace for the new Administration's policies in at least one big area—health. The "talking points" being used by the White House for demagoguing drug companies come not from the HHS, insiders say, nor from any of the White House advisors, but straight from the Children's Defense Fund.

The CDF provided NATIONAL REVIEW with a four-page "background" paper advocating "Universal Vaccine Purchase and Distribution," effectively a national-health scheme to provide vaccines free of charge. The reasoning: "The cost of vaccines makes immunizing their children in a private doctor's office prohibitively expensive." The CDF solution: "the government purchases vaccines from private manufacturers and distributes them to immunization providers free of charge."

What the CDF fails to reveal is that this very system of government purchase has already been tried at great expense, and it fails. In 11 states vaccines are now available free—and yet about 40 per cent of children remain unvaccinated, about the same as the national average. As former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop said recently, the real problem is not the cost of vaccines, but new generations of parents who see no need to have their children vaccinated because they have no personal memories of polio, diphtheria, and the other childhood diseases.

The Clintons, for their part, see a political need to beat up on the drug companies, given their drive to introduce a regime of government price controls. And they show few scruples about the truth. Mrs. Clinton complained about the "shocking" profits of the drug companies, yet only two companies (Merck and Lederle) make childhood vaccines today compared to 20 firms ten years ago. Eighteen have abandoned the business because of soaring liability costs and the pressure on profit margins of government purchasing negotiations.

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Mr. Clinton, in remarks at a Virginia health clinic, repeated CDF numbers almost precisely in accusing the manufacturers of increasing their prices from $23 ten years ago to more than $200 today. But he omitted certain key facts. The regimen of vaccination ten years ago involved 10 shots; today it is 17. The companies now pay $33 of federal excise taxes, which were not there ten years ago. And the shots cover *twice* the diseases they did back then.

The same is true of the President's remark that drug companies charge $10 for polio vaccine here compared to less than $2 in Europe. If it were the same vaccine, the solution would be simple: buy it in Europe. There would then be no need for brow-beating local manufacturers and price controls.

But it turns out that U.S. polio vaccine is made to completely different specifications. The U.S. product is made according to standards laid down by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and has six times the potency of the European vaccine. It is also made with different safety checks and quality-assurance standards. The European product is made according to an earlier World Health Organization formula. Several countries which use the cheaper WHO polio vaccine have had problems of polio epidemics among immunized populations. That is a problem that has not occurred in the U.S.—yet.

Boris in Retreat

BORIS Yeltsin's latest and worst political crisis began in December, when the Congress of People's Deputies cut back the President's powers over the economy and forced the sacking of Yegor Gaidar, the reformist prime minister. Instead of replacing Gaidar with some less-controversial reformist, Yeltsin was forced to appoint Viktor Chernomyrdin—a veteran of the state-run energy sector, who is no champion of reform.

In a compromise struck at the time with his main political rival, parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, Mr. Yeltsin obtained agreement to hold a referendum in April, in which the Russian people could validate a new constitution. This was a chance for Yeltsin to regain ground. A new constitution could consolidate the President's powers as well as enshrine private property and other key reform principles into the supreme law of the land. Alas, Yeltsin's opponents were able to discern the strategy—and head it off. Yeltsin has now dropped the whole referendum idea, but without getting any concessions in return.

As Yeltsin retreats, the country slides deeper into economic catastrophe. The economy is on the verge of hyperinflation, as Chernomyrdin refuses to pressure the Central Bank to stop the escalation of the money supply, including subsidies to the inefficient state industries that stifle real change. At the grassroots level, entrepreneurship is developing rapidly, and the provinces have learned to free themselves from the dead hand of Moscow. But hyperinflation will set it all back. The constituency for reform is still politically feeble—especially in a parliament that over-represents the dinosaurs of the old order. Russian foreign policy is becoming less cooperative in various ways—defending the Serbs, selling submarines to Iran, footdragging on troop withdrawals from the Baltics, etc. Russian nationalism reasserts itself. Yeltsin is losing the race against time.

The result is a vicious circle—the enfeebling of the democratic forces in Russia and a further erosion of the West's incentive to subsidize an uncongenial foreign and domestic policy. This raises, again, the agonizing question of the West's policy options. We still share Richard Nixon's premise that Yeltsin remains the West's best hope. Yet capital is flowing out of the country, not in, and only the establishment of a sound economic structure will attract it back. No foreseeable amount of Western aid will make a difference at this point.

As the liberal experiment in Russia is overwhelmed by the forces of history, we are drawn back to an appreciation of the permanent factors of international relations. Russia is not an enemy, or a friend, but a force of nature. We can still have a decent and mature relationship with it, but only without illusions.

Hard Sell in South Africa

ON THE VERGE of South Africa's first universal suffrage election, the National Endowment for Democracy should be working there to promote, well, democracy. Instead, the National Democratic Institute—the arm of NED controlled by the Democratic Party—is doing its best to succor South Africa's looming totalitarians.

The NDI is spending money from a U.S. AID grant on Project Vote, a voter-education drive it runs in conjunction with the University of the Western Cape's ANC-aligned Centre for Development Studies. The idea is to help turnout the 2.5 million voters in smaller towns and rural areas. A fine goal.

The trouble is NDI's tactics, as journalist and *NR* contributor Simon Barber notes. The test of the forthcoming election is not who wins (there will be power-sharing anyway), but whether it strengthens the emerging constitutional framework. NDI's message that the simple act of voting will deliver plentiful material blessings—jobs, decent schools, housing—can only help the election fail that test.

Fred Hartwig, of the Democratic polling firm Peter

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Hart Research Associates, came up with NDI's hard-sell. Sent to South Africa to conduct focus groups, Mr. Hartwig found that not only did most of his subjects not know how to vote, they did not particularly care to either. They feared intimidation and violence, doubted the process would be fair or the ballot secret, and often thought real change impossible.

What focus participants listed as uppermost in their minds were education, housing, jobs, water, electricity, and sanitation. Abstractions like ending apartheid and democracy generated less excitement. So, Mr. Hartwig wrote in his report to NDI, "the voter-education program should establish a connection between voting and the quality of life."

NDI now disseminates pamphlets in most of South Africa's languages urging: "Vote for democracy. Because by voting, you can make sure that you get a better education. . . . You can also make sure that you get better housing, jobs, water, electricity, and sanitation. . . . All it takes for all this to come about is enough votes."

Meretricious campaigning of this sort may be tolerable in a mature democracy like America, but a fledgling constitutional order like South Africa's is not so resilient. Pretoria's inability to meet raised expectations—even without NDI's propaganda—is the biggest threat to its democratic transition. Schools? To eliminate the existing shortage, the country needs 14,000 new schoolrooms a year, according to the World Bank. Only 6,000 are being built. Jobs? None currently exist for the 400,000 people entering the market annually.

With sound governance and a lot of luck, material conditions may improve, but a difficult path lies ahead. To gull people into thinking otherwise is to risk deepening the skepticism that already exists, and smoothing the way for the totalitarians.

Medical Correctness

NINETEEN EIGHTY-SEVEN. The *New York Times* tells us, "AIDS May Dwarf the Plague"; *U.S. News* declares "the disease of them suddenly is the disease of *us*"; Oprah Winfrey solemnly informs her audience, "one out of five heterosexuals will be dead of AIDS by 1990" (that's about 50 million people); and HHS Secretary Otis Bowen insists AIDS could make the Black Death seem "pale by comparison."

February 1993. The *New York Times* reports, "the AIDS epidemic will have little impact on the lives of most Americans or the way society functions, the National Research Council [part of the National Academy of Sciences] says. In a study made public today, the Council said AIDS was concentrated among homosexuals, drug users, the poor, and the undereducated. . . ." Almost simultaneously, the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) releases the year-end AIDS figures for 1992. Overall, cases increased only 3.5 per cent from the year before, even less than the 5 per cent increase from 1990–1991. Cases attributed to heterosexual transmission increased 17 per cent, compared to 21 per cent from 1990–1991. The increase in female cases declined from 17 to 9 per cent. Cases diagnosed among teenagers were exactly the same as the year before while those among persons aged 20 to 24 actually declined slightly. Before releasing the figures, the CDC announced a second time that it was revising downward its estimate of future AIDS cases.

Whatever happened to the everybody's-going-to-get-it-especially-your-grandmother epidemic? As Michael Fumento first pointed out in a 1987 *Commentary* article, it never existed except in the imagination of various special-interest groups, including homosexual activists, the media, politicians, and government bureaucrats. When Mr. Fumento expanded his thesis into the book *The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS* two years later, those same groups declared war. Stores were exhorted to refuse it and many complied; copies were stolen out of libraries; book review editors at usually respectable magazines like *Science* and *Nature* gave the book over to AIDS activists to trash it. *Science* attacked Fumento for calling for the CDC to revise downward its estimate of future AIDS cases, even though the CDC had already done so for the first time after Fumento's book came out but several months before the *Science* review did. Finally the book was removed from print.

Now the truth is emerging. Last year, responding to a decline in teenage AIDS cases from a total of 170 in 1990 to 160 in 1991, Pat Schroeder's House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families announced a veritable explosion of teenage AIDS cases, resulting in headlines like "AIDS Runs Wild Among Teenagers," a cover story in *Newsweek*, and *U.S. & World News Report* calling teenage AIDS one of the top-ten health issues of the year. Responding to the flattening of the epidemic, AIDS activists coerced the CDC into broadly expanding the definition of what constitutes AIDS, which will cause the numbers to shoot up this year before beginning to decline again in the next. Beyond the general broadening, three new illnesses were also added to the AIDS definition that will make it easier for women and non-homosexuals in general to be included in the diagnosis. And HHS Secretary Donna Shalala, who has no medical credentials, told a House panel the day before the release of the National Research Council report, "We could spend our energy on research and immunization and education and still not have any Americans left unless we're prepared to confront the crisis of AIDS." *Not any*?

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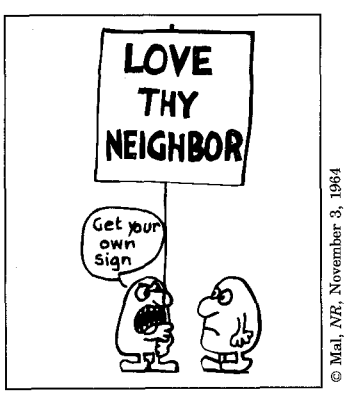
AIDS is a terrible disease; its victims deserve our compassion and assistance. There was never good reason to doubt that the American public would give both. But AIDS policy was driven by the unwarranted assumption that Americans would be coldly aloof to the victims of a disease associated mainly with homosexuality and drugs—and, even less justifiably, by the calculation of some AIDS activists that the myth of AIDS as an epidemic striking all could be exploited to reshape popular morality, replacing such virtues as fidelity, modesty, and chastity with a calculating sexual hygiene (that in some AIDS literature was not always very hygienic). If that myth is now collapsing, we will not reduce our compassion for the sick. But we may be a step closer to getting our morality back.

Malcolm Hancock, R I P

MALCOLM HANCOCK—"Mal" to his many *NR* fans—made his first appearance in NATIONAL REVIEW at age 27, illustrating a 16-page election supplement (November 3, 1964) whose lead piece was James Burnham's "A Coming ADA Government?" prophesying LBJ's Great Society.

Hancock had been brought, forcibly, to my attention by Bill Buckley's original column syndicator, the indomitable Harry Elmlark. *NR* must, Harry told me, at once, he told me, sign up the hottest new young cartoonist he, Harry, had seen in a long, long time. Young Hancock's story was sad, Harry continued. An eager young athlete, Mal, as a teenager, had taken a hideous fall while searching for an errant golf ball and ended up paralyzed from the waist down. It was in the hospital that the despairing boy had started drawing the bulbous, large-nosed, round-eyed figures who inveighed so merrily in our pages over 29 years against the pomposities, clichés, and asininities of the largely liberal-driven world we live in [see pages 30 and 70]. Harry was right. It was a marriage made in Heaven.

I never met Mal Hancock in all the years we worked together. He planned to attend *NR*'s 25th anniversary dinner, but his condition prevented his making the trip from Great Falls, Montana. But we exchanged hundreds of letters and dozens of amusing phone calls. It was from others, never from Mal, that one knew he was often racked with pain. Once or twice a month a package of his cartoons would arrive in the mail, with my name and address encased in a free-hand drawing. Once when there had been a mix-up over his paycheck the envelope containing the following batch depicted an anxious Mal figure, perched on top of a mail box, looking hopefully down the road for the missing check. Since *NR* had been his first regular customer, even when he became well known and could be seen regularly in *Playboy*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and the *Washington Post*, he gave *NR*, which could not compete financially with those better-heeled publications, first crack at his work.



© Mal, *NR*, November 3, 1964

Executive editor Geoffrey Morris had noted that Mal's cartoons were arriving somewhat less regularly than in the past. Then a month or so ago, we got word that Mal Hancock, now 56, was dying of cancer. Mal himself never complained.

In introducing him to our readers so many years ago we had commented of our new young cartoonist that his "satire is sharp, but never desperate or self-pitying." That is a pretty good description of the man as well. His family's loss, and *NR*'s, is also the nation's. Cartoonists of his genius are rare, as are men of his stoicism under pressure. —PLB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Bill:
I thought you might like to read a brief essay I wrote, which the *New York Times* thought unfit to print. It is my lament for the republic, A.D. 1993.
Cordially, Bill [Simon]

The Missing Issue

THE CLINTON era is underway, but already the new team has been knocked off stride by the withering reaction to the President's decision to legalize homosexuals in the military.

While the spotlight has centered on this question, a far larger, underlying issue is being ignored. For where is any debate, let alone recognition, that the bedrock, pro-faith and family values upon which America's future rests are under frightful assault, and that, day-by-day, this nation is distancing itself from its Judaeo-Christian roots? Put another way, even if Mr. Clinton's economic policies are sound and right—admittedly, a dubious proposition to many of us—how well he stokes the engines of our economy will matter little if the hull beneath continues to rot and the ship itself has lost its way.

To me, this is the missing issue—it is the real issue; I would even say it is the pre-eminent issue of the Nineties
—when crime among children has reached epidemic levels and living anywhere in America today is like living in Dodge City;
—when a person committing a serious offense can

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expect to spend, on average, only eight days in prison;
—when one in four black males is in jail, on probation, or free on bail, and two-thirds of black babies, and one-quarter of white babies are born illegitimate;
—when fifty years ago the top problems cited in our public schools were talking out of turn, chewing gum, running in halls, cutting in line, dress code infraction, and littering; today they are drug and alcohol abuse, pregnancy, suicide, rape, and robbery;
—and when the New York City public-school system tried, albeit failed, to ram down the throats of its first-graders the overtly homosexual, Children of the Rainbow Curriculum (*Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Daddy's Roommate*) along with materials to other students describing the joys of masturbation and other explicit sexual topics.

As one rebellious yet highly prescient schoolboard member, Irene Impellizzeri, warned: "Self-discipline is not an instinct; it is learned from adults. . . . But if children of the poor are taught they need not be constrained by the social order and its civilities . . . that they have the right—unearned—to set their own standards, or no standards at all . . . without serving any apprenticeship to reality, without, in fact, learning to think—as distinct from feel or want—they will never, ever escape poverty."

Just as rapidly and rabidly as we embrace sex in its lewdest forms, we are turning away from the sanctity of life. And we are turning away from God. To judge by media focus, we apparently live in a society where the Madonna most worshipped is the one who appears naked in a metal-covered book, not the one written about in the Bible. Who would have foreseen American schools where the dispensing of family values is replaced by the dispensing of condoms, where sexual deviation is embraced and God is expelled.

When three of Ronald Reagan and George Bush's Supreme Court nominees recently joined their liberal colleagues to declare unconstitutional a rabbi's nonsectarian prayer at a public-school commencement, they turned the whole sense and spirit of the First Amendment on its head. Intended by the Founding Fathers to be a constitutional bulwark of freedom of religion, the First Amendment is now routinely invoked to bully and bludgeon religious freedom in any public setting.

I received a secret prayer from an anonymous student who describes the predicament. He writes:

Now I sit me down in school,
Where praying is against the rule;
For this great nation under God,
Finds public mention of Him quite odd.
Any prayer a class recites,
Now violates the Bill of Rights;
The law is specific, the law is precise;
Praying aloud is no longer nice;
Praying out loud in a public hall
Upsets believers in nothing-at-all.
In silence alone we can meditate,
And if God should be reached, well, that's great.
This rule, however, has one gimmick in it,
You have to be finished in less than a minute.
So all I ask is a minute of quiet,
And if I feel like praying, then maybe I'll try it;
If not, O Lord, this one plea I make:
Should I be knifed in school, my soul You'll take.

We had better recognize this poem for what it is—a cry for help from America's future.

SO, THIS IS AMERICA, 1993. How did we reach such a state—in this land, where, for generations, mothers and fathers bravely risked their lives and came streaming to these shores to give their children the freedom to worship God without fear or favor? How can there be such cowardice and silence in the face of this outrageous trashing of America's most treasured traditions? Where are the voices of the Catholic Church, the Protestant mainline churches, and leaders of the Jewish community? Where are the leaders of the Republican and Democratic Parties?

It is one thing to promise to preserve and defend the Constitution. But who will preserve and defend the values which are the foundation of our greatness? If it is no longer politically correct to revere and defend our most basic rights, perhaps we might recall the words of an American giant whose quiet, lonely, heroic courage personified the true meaning of leadership.

Beset by the crises of his day, Abraham Lincoln said: "We have forgotten the gracious hand that preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own . . . we have become too proud to pray to the God that made us!"

I have served my country in government and enthusiastically participated in the business world for over forty years. But the cumulative experience of all those years has only reinforced the simple and timeless truth of Lincoln's eloquent words.

Vital as they are, sound policies—less government, low tax rates, and a strong defense—are not enough. America will never be healed and never be truly strong, until we acknowledge, once again, the pre-eminent importance of our values, until we are willing to humble ourselves, and until we are not too proud to pray. —WILLIAM E. SIMON

WFB

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ON THE SCENE

The Numbers Game

BRIT HUME

Michael Stock

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR Bill Clinton, sitting around the dining-room table with his economic advisors in the governor's mansion last December must have felt like old times. He had spent much of his reign as governor in an endless quest for money to fund programs, a hard task in a state whose constitution must be amended to increase income taxes. It's not nearly that hard in Washington, but the President-elect was faced with a burgeoning federal budget deficit. It threatened not only his promised middle-class tax cut, but all the new spending he planned for closing the nation's "investment deficit." Once again, he was looking for money.

His designated budget director, Leon Panetta, raised the possibility of postponing, or limiting, the annual Social Security cost-of-living adjustment. That may seem a small measure, but it is a very big deal. One reason is that even a one-time postponement in the COLA saves a huge amount of money. Moreover, in the peculiar way things are measured in Washington, it keeps on saving forever. That's partly because a budget "cut" need not be an actual reduction in spending. It just has to be an amount less than would have been spent if the "cut" were not made. Thus spending can increase and still be considered "cut."

Social Security has been called the "third rail of American politics"—fatal to the touch. Bill Clinton, however, did not rule the idea out. It was still an option after the inauguration when the President's economic team began its marathon meetings in the White House. The COLA option must have tantalized former House Budget Chairman Panetta, a veteran of the tax-and-spend wars of the Reagan and Bush years. For years, deficit-fighters in both parties have believed that any serious effort to stem federal red ink had to include a major attack on the "entitlements." These are the mandatory programs, from retirement benefits to farm subsidies, that grow automatically year by year. Higher taxes have been tried, four times since 1981. Defense spending has been on a downward path since the mid 1980s. The so-called "discretionary" domestic programs have been cut as much as Congress will stand. The deficit has continued to grow in spite of it all.

Within days of the start of the budget deliberations in Washington, word leaked that the Social Security COLA was on the table. The leak, published in the *Wall Street Journal*, doomed the idea. The Social Security lobby, composed largely of old-line Democrats and the organized elderly, pounced on it. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, chairman of the Finance Committee, led the charge. The Administration was already in trouble with the senator, a man whose nose pops out of joint as easily as an athlete's shoulders: An anonymous Clinton aide had been quoted in a newsmagazine as saying the White House could "roll right over him." On *This Week with David Brinkley*, Mr. Moynihan denounced the COLA cut as "a death wish." A few days later, the new President, with a gentle prod from Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen (Moynihan's predecessor as Finance chairman), quietly killed the idea.

From that point on, the composition of Mr. Clinton's economic program became fairly predictable. Big tax increases were inevitable, and not just on the rich. Defense would be the major target of budget cuts. Social Security would be listed as "cut," but it would be done by raising the amount of benefits subject to taxation.

The President's team told reporters on February 17 that the plan contained a total of $493 billion in "deficit reduction" through 1997. Only when the full plan was released the next day did it become clear that that number did not count the $109 billion in added spending Clinton planned. Panetta insisted he did not mean to mislead anyone. He and others defended the number as a "gross" figure and pointed out that the President had not used it in his speech to Congress. But two days later, as he promoted his plan in Ohio, the President said the package was "basically 50–50, spending cuts and revenue increases the first four years." That ratio not only doesn't count his new spending and treats the Social Security tax increase as a spending cut, it also counts as "cuts" a host of increased "fees" for government services.

It should be said in fairness that Mr. Clinton is hardly the first President to engage in such legerdemain. The Reagan and Bush budgets were filled with it. What's more, the Clinton team refrained from the Reagan–Bush practice of using rosy assumptions about the performance of the economy

Mr. Hume is chief White House correspondent for ABC News.

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An open letter on the Second Amendment.

An Individual Right To Arms?

The view that the Second Amendment[1] to the Constitution of the United States guarantees only the states' right to maintain formal militias has attained a surprising respectability. That may be more explicable as an expression of the hostility many academicians feel towards guns and their owners than as an unbiased constitutional interpretation. The Second Amendment does not guarantee merely a "right of the states," but rather a "right of the people," a term which, as used throughout the Bill of Rights (e.g., the First and Fourth Amendments), is widely understood to encompass a personal right of citizens.

Moreover, the Amendment refers to the "militia," a term which in the 18th century meant not a formal military unit like the National Guard, but a system under which every household and every man of military age was required to own a gun in order to defend the community against tyranny, foreign invasion, and crime. The leading interpretations before Congress when it enacted the Bill of Rights affirmed that by the Second Amendment "the people are confirmed in their right to keep and bear their private arms" — "their own arms."[2]

Furthermore, the "individual right" component of Second-Amendment thought became even more prominent in constitutional theory due to the transformation wrought by and through the debates in the Reconstruction Congress concerning the privileges and immunities of national citizenship. Many Congressmen pointed out that blacks in the South needed to be constitutionally protected in the citizen's individual, personal right to bear arms in self-defense.[3]

Of course, the right to bear arms is no more "absolute" than is the right to speak, to publish, or to assemble. Hence, there is room for disagreement over the scope of Second-Amendment rights, just as there currently exists legitimate disagreement over the scope of the First-Amendment rights of assembly and free speech.[4] Nothing in this statement, therefore, is intended to deny either the constitutionality of, or the need for, sensible gun laws.

1. "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." 1 Stat. 21 (1848)

2. Kates, "Handgun Prohibition and the Original Meaning of the Second Amendment," 82 Mich. L. Rev. 204, 214, 223-224 (1983). *See generally* Amar, "The Bill of Rights as a Constitution," 100 *Yale L.J.* 1131, 1162 ff. (1991); Levinson, "The Embarrassing Second Amendment," 99 *Yale L.J.* 637 (1989); L. Levy, *Original Intent and the Framers' Constitution* 341 (1988); S. Halbrook, *A Right to Bear Arms: State and Federal Bills of Rights and Constitutional Guarantees* (1989).

3. Cottrol and Diamond, "The Second Amendment: Toward an Afro-Americanist Reconsideration," 80 *Georgetown L.J.* 309 (1991).

4. *See, e.g.*, Kates, "The Second Amendment: A Dialogue," 49 *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 145 (1986).

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to calculate the impact of its program. Clinton's plan is based on the conservative economic assumptions of the Congressional Budget Office. Still, the Clinton team showed a marked tendency to make claims that reflected only one side of the picture. For example, the President kept saying his $31-billion economic stimulus package would generate 500,000 new jobs. That led to this exchange between a reporter and White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos.

Q: "Does that count only for the positive effects of that and none of the possible negative effects of higher taxes?"

GS: "We don't see the negative effects in '93 and '94 from the stimulus package."

Q: "Are you telling me that you're going to raise tax rates and raise energy taxes, and there are no negative effects . . . ?"

GS: "We believe that generally this package will have a stimulative impact."

Q: "I understand that, George, and I don't dispute that. All I'm trying to ask you is whether that number, 500,000, is offset in your calculus by any loss of jobs that might occur as a result of higher taxes. I mean, this is not a very controversial economic notion that when you raise taxes in a given area that you depress economic activity."

GS: "But we do not have any estimates on job loss from this proposal, no."

Q: "So what you do is: you have estimates for jobs created by the things you believe will create jobs, but no estimates of job loss on things that might cost jobs?"

GS: "We don't believe this will cost jobs, we believe it will create jobs."

It is perhaps understandable that Mr. Clinton and his aides would prefer to view the different parts of his program separately, and to believe, or at least hope, they don't interfere with each other. They are not, after all, a natural mix—part tax increase, part tax cut, part spending increase, part spending cut. On the stump, Clinton likes to say his program attempts "to do something no Americans have had to do before." He's certainly right about that. □

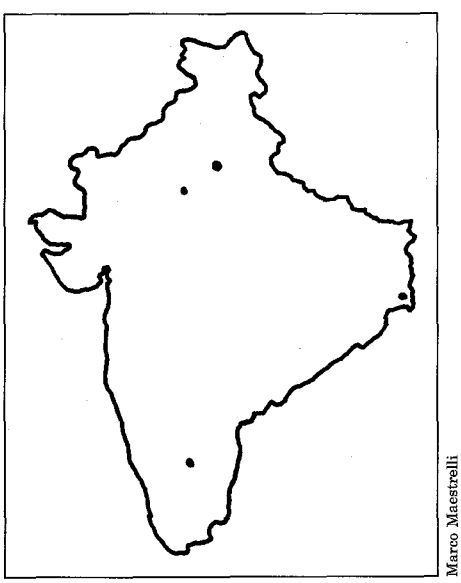
Incident at Ayodhya

ROBERT D. KING

AYODHYA, INDIA

SURROUNDED by the unforgiving red dust of Kipling's northern India lies the unremarkable town of Ayodhya, a site of recent violence which triggered riots nationwide. Ayodhya's problem, which predates British entry into the subcontinent, stems from the fact that it is thought to contain the birthplace of Rama, one of the most important avatars of the god Vishnu and the subject of the *Ramayana*, one of the two great epics of Hinduism. Yet, until last December's riots destroyed it, a Muslim mosque dominated the location.

Many Hindus believe that Ayodhya's problematic mosque was erected by order of a sixteenth-century Moghul emperor over the ruins of a temple to Rama which the Muslim leader had deliberately demolished. The mosque remained active until Hindu chauvinists seized it in 1949, shortly after Indian independence. It ended up in court, like everything in India,



Marco Maestrelli

which is even more lawyer-sodden than the U.S.; the Hindu takeover was more or less ratified by a series of bizarre judicial rulings in the 1950s which left the mosque abandoned as a place of active worship for the past half century. The passage of decades somehow should make a difference but doesn't: fifty years is a minuscule slice of time in this memory-cursed country.

In recent years Hindu fundamentalists began to demand the demolition of the mosque and the restoration in its place of a temple to Rama. The issue had political aspects since the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) and its militant wing the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad) made the cause their own (though some argue that they were behind the agitation in the first place). The BJP holds the balance of power in several of the Indian states and increasingly in the central government.

From October 1990 until last December 6, Ayodhya simmered away, injecting a steady stream of toxic bacilli into the bloodstream of India's always labile body politic. Then Hindu militants forced the issue by destroying the mosque, and the government has had a mess on its hands since.

It is easy for Westerners to dismiss this incident as an oddity from an exotic country most Americans rarely think of. I can hear it now: What do you expect from a country whose erstwhile prime minister once touted, on the eve of an official state visit to the U.S., the benefits of drinking his own urine each day? Could Jimmy Carter possibly have let a little thing like that get in the way of deeper understanding of the problems of the subcontinent? The thing cannot be imagined.

What is Ayodhya about? To begin with, it is a Hindu fundamentalist response to Islamic fundamentalism. It ill behooves an Indian Muslim minority of some 10 per cent to become *too* carried away with Islamic fundamentalism, but extremism begets extremism. It is also lamentably true that Muslims have not always been delicate about certain matters repellent to Hindus. M. A. Jinnah, the father of Pakistan, liked to say: "The Hindu worships the cow; we Muslims eat the cow." (Jinnah, the British said, could devise a problem for every solution.)

When India became independent in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru was determined that it should be a *secular* state: there would be no state religion; every minority, the Muslim *primus inter pares*, was to be tolerated, protected, encouraged. No conviction mat-

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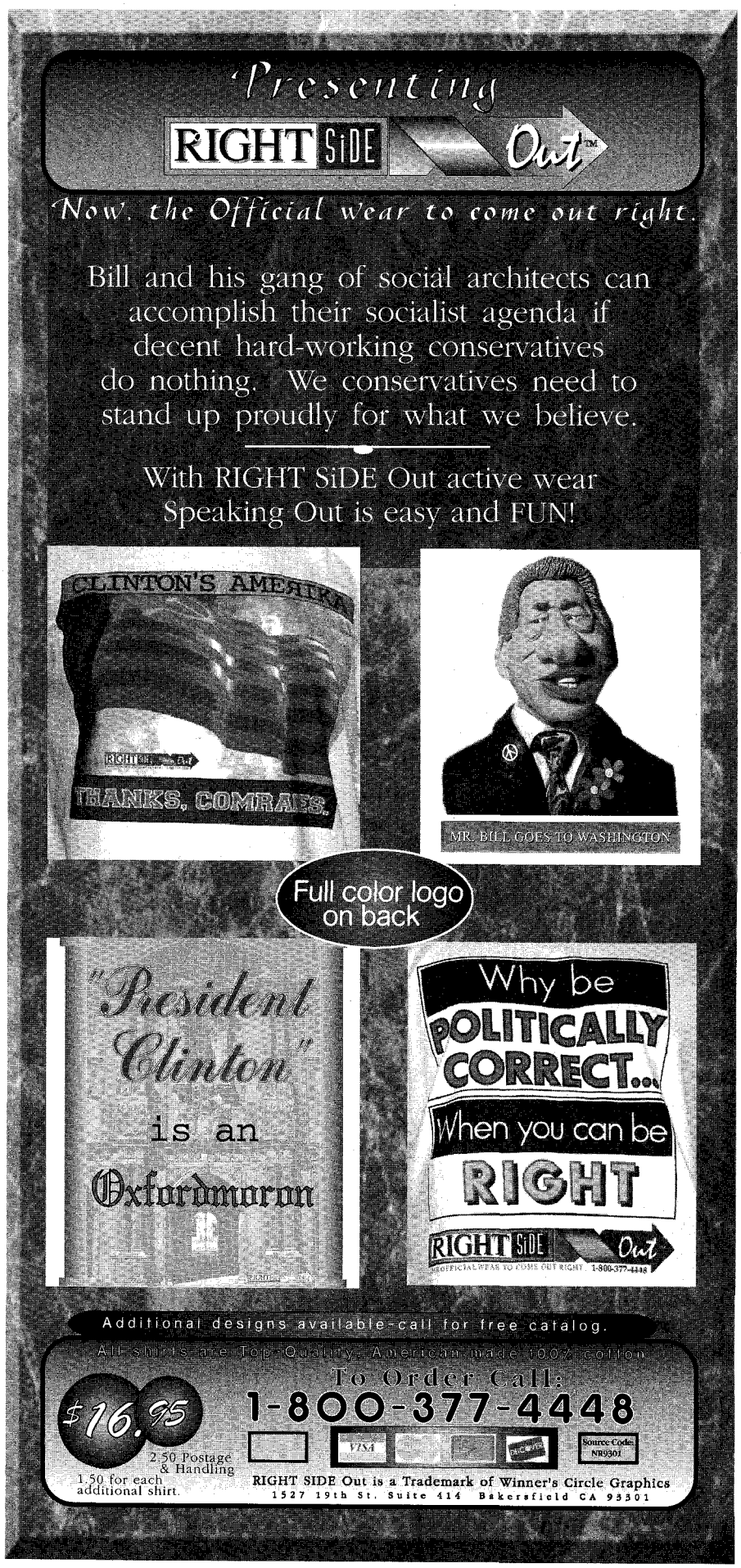
tered more to Nehru, even the nonalignment policy he made so much of.

A fine idea, secular India, but it could never have been—not in the way Nehru envisioned. India is a Hindu country that happens to have many minorities. What is truly extraordinary is that everyone coexists so well on a day-to-day basis. The average Indian tolerates more diversity in his everyday life than anything dreamt of in America—in dress, religion, language, eating habits, clothing. Even Times Square, which always reminds me of that frontier barroom scene in *Star Wars*, cannot begin to compare with the diversity of your average garden-variety Indian street scene. "We must love one another or die," said W. H. Auden, and while he didn't have India in mind, India could not exist any other way. Tolerance is possibly Hinduism's greatest legacy to the country (though you have to know India well to appreciate the truth of that). BJP leaders insist they don't hate Muslims; they just don't want an abandoned mosque standing over Rama's birthplace.

India is what I choose to call a "secular Hindu nation," after Irving Kristol's definition of America as a "secular Christian nation," an articulation that captures neatly a working conception of our country that is perfectly understandable and perfectly correct for the average American of whatever religious or ethnic heritage. The majority culture of India is Hindu; the forms and usages of public and private Indian life are Hindu; the symbols of Indian culture are Hindu. There is only so much insult to these symbols, e.g., to Rama's putative birth site, that a majority Hindu culture is prepared to endure. That's basically what Ayodhya is about: the failure of India as a secular state. But there's more.

Current Hindu discontent with the ruling Congress party has been fueled not only by the concessions made to Muslims to secure their votes but by a draconian affirmative-action policy on behalf of the untouchables and lower castes. Thomas Sowell has written eloquently of how affirmative action is governed by the law of unintended consequences, and what starts out a good thing so frequently in the end becomes a bad thing. India provides some of his best evidence.

The British started down this slippery slope by granting separate elec-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torates to Muslims, and the Congress Party embraced affirmative action with a vengeance. The result is an Indian variant of "white males need not apply": upper-caste Hindus need not apply. There are "reservations" for favored minorities in almost every school, ministry, university, hospital, agency, and grog shop the Delhi bureaucrats can get their hooks into. In some of the southern states reservations guarantee as many as 60 per cent of the places at universities for the "scheduled castes" (lower castes and untouchables). This causes resentment, as it does in the U.S. How much—if any—affirmative action we should have in our country is open to question; whatever those limits are, in India they've been blown sky high.

Understandably, most friends I talked to on this visit are deeply disturbed. They earnestly pose the question whether India may become a Hindu theocracy. That is unlikely. Hinduism isn't a religion, has no credo or single sacred text, has by Western standards an eccentric notion of "priesthood," doesn't proselytize, and no one actually agrees how you "become a Hindu" (if in fact you can) except to be born one. A Hindu theocracy, no, that isn't in the cards; but I rather imagine that future Indian governments will become more attentive to the feelings and needs of their large constituencies, which are not all Muslim or lower-caste.

Whom do intellectuals blame for the current malaise? (Indian intellectuals are no different from Western intellectuals in finding implausible but ideologically convenient scapegoats for social ills.) The British: colonialism in a word. (And when that's just altogether too far-fetched, the CIA will do.) "The British did it, the British with their *divida et impera*, their setting of Muslim against Hindu." (As if Hindus and Muslims weren't bashing each other around before the British could even tell which side was which.) But Indian intellectuals are even more monolithically leftist than their American counterparts, and it's easier to blame poor perfidious Albion for embarrassments like Ayodhya than it is to come to honest grips with human nature and one's own insufficiencies.

An interesting sidelight is that intellectuals and politicians are far more worked up over Ayodhya than are ordinary people. A Hindu-speaking American academic conducting research among the latter told me that their attitude is: big deal, so they tore down a mosque, so what? Secularism doesn't play in the *mofussil*, the great sprawling outback of village India where life takes little notice of the political fevers of Delhi and Bombay.

So, what will come of all this? The government wants to rebuild the mosque *and* construct a temple on the site. While laudable and high-minded, this "Jerusalem solution" will fail. There will never be peace as long as a mosque sits on the site where many Hindus think Rama was born. The best accommodation would be for the Muslim imams in India to renounce their claim to the location in the interest of greater India. The land is after all not holy to Islam; unlike Mecca or Medina, it isn't a pilgrimage destination for Muslims. It's just a place where someone once decided to erect a mosque, and probably for the wrong reasons. So generous an act of renunciation might reap generations of good will from even the more communal of the Hindu groups. But let no one hold his breath waiting for this to happen: compromise, generosity, decency, give-and-take, and fair play are not part of the political culture of the subcontinent (or Yugoslavia or the Middle East or Northern Ireland or the Anglican clergy or a university faculty, for that matter).

The current strategy is to refer the matter to the Supreme Court, the kind of evasion we're totally familiar with here in America. Weak executives and legislatures eventually spawn meddlesome judiciaries. The trouble is that India's Supreme Court is even less above politics than ours (though mercifully less activist), and whatever the court rules will satisfy no one.

The probable scenario goes something like this. No government that votes to resurrect a mosque on the site can remain in power. No government in view has the will to grant sole rights over the property to the Hindus. So the thing will boil and fester, a government or two will fall, and eventually amidst inattention and muddle a temple will be built. The mosque will not be restored, an outrage the Muslim leadership will protest, but nobody much will notice, especially the Muslim masses who have much else to worry about. Things will settle back to "normal" again in this wounded land, this malgoverned land, this land I have so much affection for. There will be "peace" in India. For a time. □

Time to Fight

VIN WEBER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE NEXT few weeks are no less a challenge to the Republican opposition in Congress than they are to the Democrat in the White House. Republicans have to decide what their role in opposition is going to be, and their experiences over the last 12 years provide little help and leave them with many instincts not suited to their new station in life.

Congressional Republicans learned two sets of behavior in the Reagan–Bush years that they now must unlearn. First, Republicans have to call off their love affair with the executive branch. Minority Republicans in Congress recognized that their power, perks, and stature directly related to their man in the White House. A lingering tendency to kowtow to the Administration, more out of habit than design, was on display in the Senate confirmation process. Rarely have so many obvious political opportunities, from Zoë Baird to Ron Brown, gone unexplored. This failure was neither good politics nor good government: The opposition should scrutinize, investigate, and criticize nominees even if, in the end, it decides not to oppose them outright.

It is even more important for Republicans to unlearn bipartisanship. By assembling bipartisan coalitions in the Reagan–Bush years, Republicans in Congress achieved many victories—tax cuts, spending controls, SDI, and a broadly based conservative social policy. But over time the GOP lost House seats and control of the Senate,

Mr. Weber, a former congressman from Minnesota, is co-founder of the new conservative group Empower America.

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while Democrats, tiring of bipartisan "victories" for Republican Presidents, increased their opposition.

Yet, when Republicans went home to their states and districts to explain these legislative battles, they found an overwhelming public perception that they were "in control." Since, at the end of the day, politicians don't win arguments with voters, most Republicans came back to the Capitol determined to work with the opposition, "be a part of the solution," and to participate in "governance," since the voters held them responsible anyway.

But bipartisan agreement does not necessarily translate into effective action. Gradually there arose that condition made known in the last campaign as "gridlock."

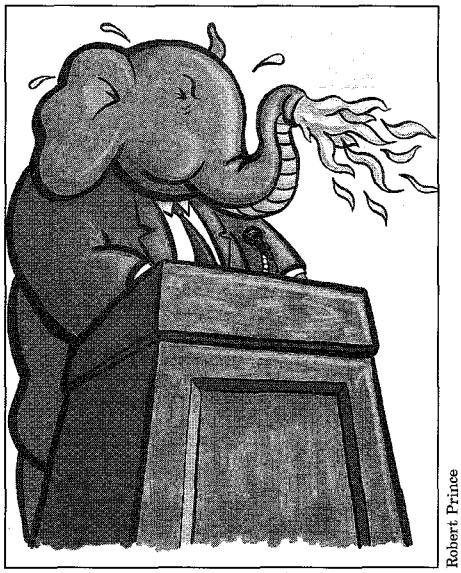
Now the great danger is that Republicans will retrain their Reagan–Bush longing for bipartisanship, remember the anger of voters over gridlock, and conclude that they must work "constructively" with President Clinton on all fronts.

But the last election changed things. If it was about ending gridlock it was also about establishing accountability. While the voters ultimately rejected a Republican President to end gridlock, there is ample evidence that both parties have suffered from a lack of accountability. At the height of Ross Perot's popularity in June, 70 per cent of surveyed voters reported that they had no confidence in *either* party. This figure, as well as Perot's total vote, provides evidence that the two-party system itself has suffered grievously from Pennsylvania Avenue finger pointing.

This erosion in partisan support has not been even-handed. Republicans have suffered more because they've been "in control."

At the beginning of the Reagan era Republicans lost every public-opinion survey related to the economy. By 1988, Republicans were perceived as better able to handle fiscal problems such as taxes and spending, and had gained the high ground on traditionally Democrat issues such as economic growth and unemployment.

In the course of the 1992 campaign, however, the Democrats were clearly in command on jobs, growth, and economic competitiveness. One survey showed voters believing Bush more likely to raise taxes than Clinton. This complete collapse of public confidence



Robert Prince

in Republican economic policies relates directly to that acme of bipartisanship, the 1990 budget agreement.

And so Republicans come to the spring of 1993 and a new Democratic President seeking to build bipartisan support for his economic programs.

They shouldn't give it to him.

Instead, Republicans should say that the voters chose an entirely Democratic government based on the desire to break gridlock over economic policy, and they deserve a Democratic economic policy. Republicans need not be "obstructionist" or "confrontational." Civility can abound. And so should principled criticism. And when the votes are cast, the Democrats should pass their program and the Republicans should oppose it.

This is what Newt Gingrich and most House Republicans will do. Appearing on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Representative Dick Armey (R., Tex.), the new chairman of the Republican Conference, didn't miss a beat in telling host Tim Russert that there was "no need to raise taxes. Period."

The Senate, however, is different. Senators Dole, Domenici, and Lott are approaching the issue differently, saying that tax hikes must be linked to spending cuts. That was the basis for the TEFRA act of 1982. But the three dollars of cuts promised for every one dollar of new TEFRA taxes dwindled quickly to less than 60 cents. Republican demands of balanced austerity is exactly the briar patch into which Democrats wish to be thrown. They know that while spending cuts are only good until the next meeting of the appropriations committee, tax increases are forever.

The tradeoffs, therefore, are the same as always for Republicans. Spending restraints that evaporate versus taxes that permanently ratchet up the size and cost of government. Short-term praise from their opponents for bipartisanship versus the long-term disenchantment of their own political base. The Republicans, then, are at a crossroads that will define their role in opposition.

Currently, the question in Washington is "Will the Clinton plan pass?" But the real question is "Will the Republicans oppose it?" In that context, the key man in everyone's calculations must be Bob Dole. If Dole comes out forcefully against the Clinton plan, he will assure a united stand by congressional leaders. If not, Senate and House Republicans will probably go in different directions.

Many Dole watchers insist that his well known concern for the deficit will lure him into the inevitable "deal" with the Administration.

But others aren't so sure.

Dole has made it clear since the election that he sees himself as the leader of the opposition, and he's played the role forcefully. Bob Dole negotiating details of a package with Lloyd Bentsen may well be showing institutional leadership. But Bob Dole opposing the Administration on principle would be leading the entire Republican Party.

And in the end, that's really what he wants to do. □

Weicker Watch

JEFFREY CHRISTENSEN

HARTFORD

WHEN Lowell Weicker campaigned as an independent in Connecticut's three-way race for Governor in 1990, his slogan was "Nobody's man but his own." That was precisely what the 60 per cent who did not vote for him feared. He proved to be a man of his word when he forced a very unpopular income tax

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through the legislature. Now he proposes to integrate schools statewide by creating six educational soviets. Though Weicker denies it's a busing plan, suburban residents smell a rat.

The urgency, if not the impetus, behind the initiative is owing to a lawsuit, *Sheff* v. *O'Neill*, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of 19 school children from Hartford. Hartford is the poorest city in Connecticut, and the public schools there, which are 93.1 per cent black and Hispanic, receive the lowest scores in the state's Mastery Tests. Nearby schools in wealthier, predominantly white suburbs score higher. The plaintiffs call for desegregation to satisfy the state constitution's guarantee of equal educational opportunity.

The state maintains that segregation is an unintended consequence of town boundaries and school districts created when the state was 98.5 per cent white. But in his State of the State speech Weicker endorsed the premise of the plaintiffs' case: "If you are poor, if you are a minority, and if you live in one of our cities, you start the game at a disadvantage." In the governor's plan, "local school districts will reflect the racial mixture of the region" and "deal with the integration of education with health and human-service agencies." Centralized authority, educational social workers, quotas, and forced busing, to be announced. To help pay for his $85 million public-school plan, Weicker proposed ending the 36-year-old subsidy for parochial-school busing.

WEICKER failed to address the fundamental disincentives that have exacerbated the squalor of Connecticut's cities. In Hartford in 1960, crime rates were low and less than 10 per cent of children were born to unwed mothers. The public schools were over 70 per cent white and only 32 per cent of high school freshmen dropped out or graduated elsewhere.

Then the reforms of the Sixties supplanted the civic glue of traditional values with social welfare programs. Welfare, AFDC, public housing, and the like institutionalized poverty as an entitled way of life. Connecticut's average welfare benefits rank sixth-highest in the nation, $1200 more per year for an AFDC "family" of three than in New York City and $6,000 more than in Puerto Rico, the origin of 90 per cent of Hartford's Hispanics.

Consequently, Connecticut's cities are classic cases of urban flight and welfare migration. In 1970 the city of Hartford was 71 per cent white, 28 per cent black, and 2 per cent other. By 1990 the numbers were reversed: 30 per cent non-Hispanic white, 36 per cent black, and 32 per cent Hispanic. Only 11 per cent of Hartford's residents under 18 years old are non-Hispanic white. As of 1988, 67 per cent of Hartford's children were born to unwed mothers. Crime and fertility rates are skyrocketing. One quarter of families live below the poverty line and one third of Hartford's residents receive housing assistance or live in public housing. And for all this you also get the highest property taxes in the region.

Black and white suburban residents balk at sending their children into the midst of these failed social experiments. Governor Weicker doesn't send his kids to public school. Why should he? In a recent survey of Hartford-area residents by Professor Christine Rossell of Boston University, 51 per cent of whites said they would move or resort to a private school if the desegregation plan assigned their child to a city school.

According to the Hartford school superintendent's office, almost 65 per cent of the funding for Hartford public schools comes from "sources outside of the city's taxpayers"—mostly federal and state grants. Per pupil spending in Hartford was $7,746 last year, $904 more than the state average. Hartford teachers receive about $5,000 more than the state average and student–teacher ratios are low. Yet 55 per cent of high-school freshmen drop out or graduate elsewhere. Teenage pregnancy is high and drugs are ubiquitous. More than half of the students are from AFDC homes and 60 per cent are from single-parent homes. Even suburban liberals who thought high taxes would absolve them of their civic responsibilities can't reconcile their beliefs with their politically incorrect apprehensions.

But "the two Connecticuts" that Weicker referred to in his speech are *not* "separated by racial and economic divisions" as he believes. Race and income are the symptoms, not the causes, of a more profound division. In a recent speech, New York City Board of Education member Irene Impellizzeri sumed it up: "In the city where we work, there is little or no community anymore. There is aggregation—the forming of groups. And the difference is profound. Communities have consciences. Aggregations have programs. Communities work by civility. Aggregations get their way by stridency. . . . The fundamental difference between a community and an aggregation is really the difference between what is in one's *interest* and what one *desires*—between one's hopes and one's appetites." But Governor Weicker doesn't get it, because he is part of the problem. A self proclaimed "liberal Republican" who had to form his own party when Republicans wouldn't have him, he is blind to the debilitating effects of public policy and moral retreat.

PERHAPS the best blow to the Weicker scheme came from U.S. Congressman Gary Franks, a black Republican from a district that is 94 per cent white. "I disagree strongly with his proposal," Franks told the *Westport News*. "I do not believe in forced integration. I do not see how sitting next to a white person will make you smarter. If you believe that, we should all try to sit next to the Japanese." Franks's words ring especially true among the blacks who are a growing part of Connecticut's liberal policy flight.

Like most Republicans here, Congressman Franks is "a strong advocate of choice for schools within the boundaries of a person's town or city." He further advocates "giving tax credits for parochial and private schools." Indeed, nothing could be further from Weicker' s notion of centralized coercion than the freedom of individuals to choose. Northwest Catholic High School in West Hartford attracts students from 33 area towns. Thirty per cent are minority and no one drops out. Annual tuition is 40 per cent less than the per-pupil cost of Hartf ord public schools. "Allow people to have a choice," says Principal Michael Griffin, "and they will identify with schools that they believe in. They develop a sense of ownership and create a school that reflects their values. If parents are comfortable with the school they are choosing, then race and busing become a secondary issue." □

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help

"No one understands me. So as a last resort, my shrink referred me to you."

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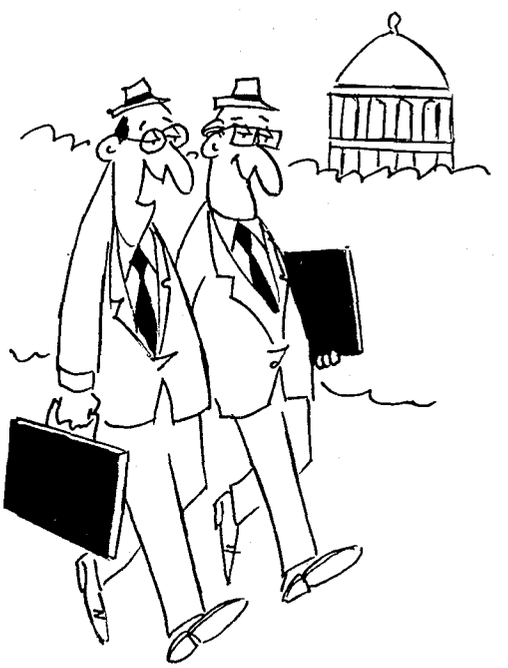

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"The election is over—it's time to tax and spend."

It's Unmentionable

Like syphilis and gonorrhea
  Back when great-aunt Maud
Did petit point for parlor pillows
  Decorators laud,
One never mentions immigration
  With a pol who got
Elected from constituencies
  Wholly polyglot

W. H. VON DREELE

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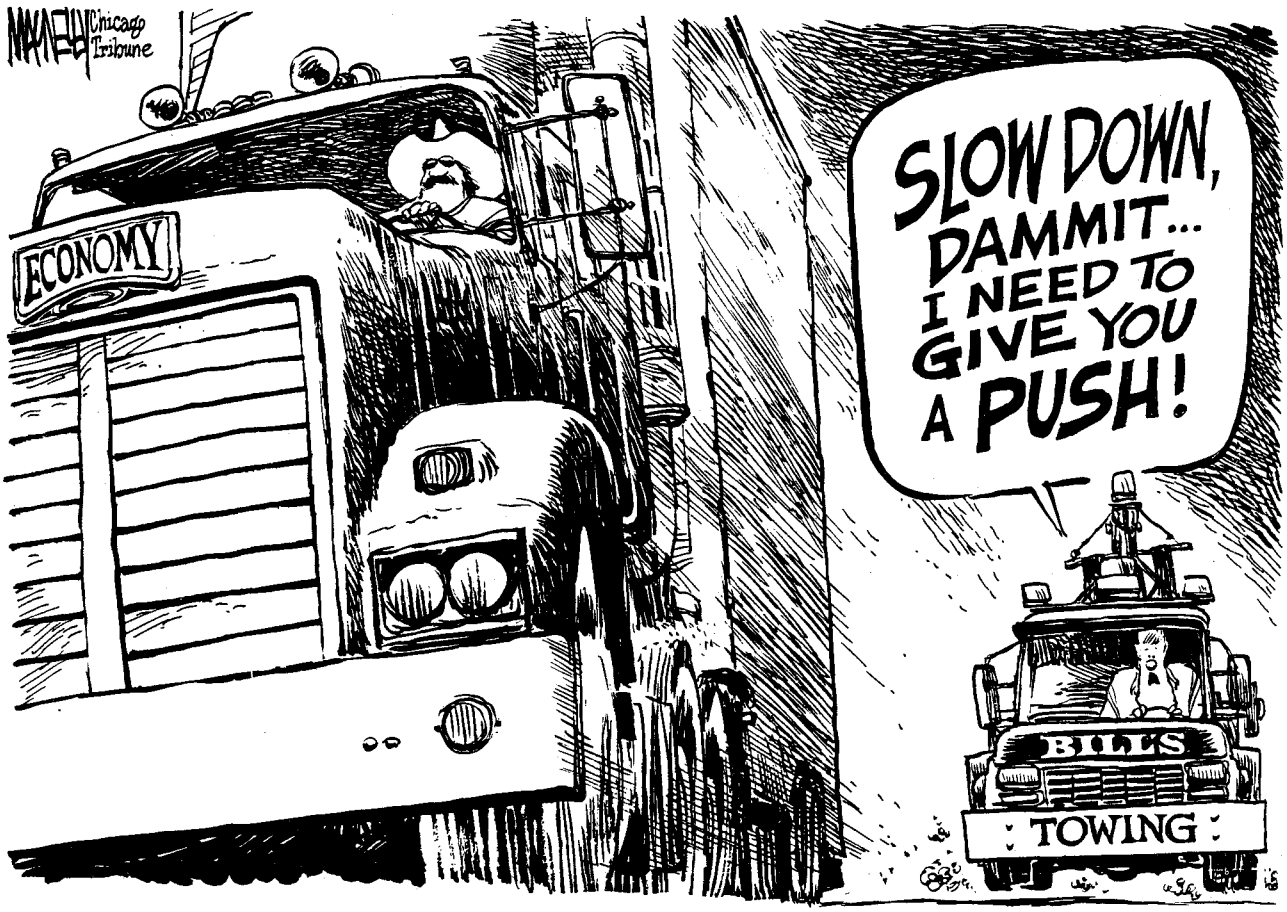

IT'S TRUE! I USED A BABYSITTER ON SATURDAY NIGHTS AND DIDN'T PAY SOCIAL SECURITY! OH, I'M SO — ASHAMED!
I-I-I WENT TO THE CHICAGO PLAYBOY CLUB IN 1967. THERE- I SAID IT! (SOB)
THERE THERE
OFFICIAL FACILITATOR
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UNITED FEATURE SYND.

NEWS ITEM: CLINTON'S CABINET HOLDS ENCOUNTER GROUP SESSION.

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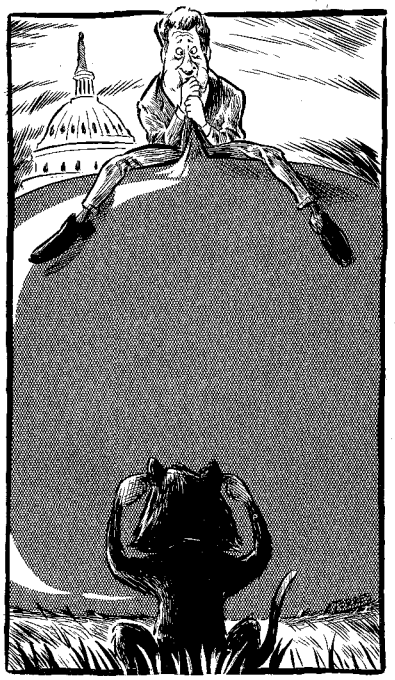

Worse than Carter?

CLINTON'S DISMAL SCIENTISTS

Meet Clinton's economic brain trust—folks with an answer to every question. One problem: for 15 years, their answers have all proven wrong.

STEPHEN MOORE

AMONG academic economists, Bill Clinton may be the most popular incoming President in history, and his first budget may be the most highly praised White House economic proposal since Jimmy Carter backed gasoline rationing. Some 565 distinguished scholars have endorsed Clintonomics as "our best hope for reviving the nation's economic growth." The list of FOBs reads like a Who's Who of Keynesian economics: it includes nine Nobel laureates and seemingly the entire economics faculties of MIT, Harvard, Stanford, Northwestern, and the Brookings Institution, as well as many pop-economists who spent the 1980s writing on the failure of supply-side economics—Robert Reich, Lester Thurow, John Kenneth Galbraith, etc. These economists' enthusiasm for Clinton nearly rivals their disdain for Ronald Reagan. That is to say, they like Bill Clinton a whole lot.

Unfortunately, this avalanche of scholarly support says far more about the partisan leanings of professional economists these days that it does about the wisdom of Clintonomics. If macro-economics was once a pseudo-science, today it is all too often merely an outlet for political propaganda.

Clinton has skillfully capitalized on this scholarly propaganda machine, featuring three of America's most celebrated Keynesians—Robert Solow, James Tobin, and Alan Blinder—as top advisors at the Little Rock economic summit, and tapping anti-supply-siders Alice Rivlin, Roger Altman, Laura Tyson, Robert Reich, and Larry Summers for high-level economic posts in his Administration.

The scary part is this: the economists who are mapping out a new economic game-plan for the 1990s are precisely the same people who wrote the nation's blueprint for the stagflationary 1970s, fiercely opposed the Reagan policies of the prosperous 1980s, and otherwise compiled a spectacular record of wrong economic prediction over the past two decades. President Clinton could not possibly find a worse source of advice. There is no better way to demonstrate this than to review the inglorious track record of the Left's best and brightest economists.

1978–79: How to Handle Stagflation?

IN 1978 the nation was just entering the throes of the most severe economic crisis of the past half-century: double-digit inflation combined with eroding real incomes. To combat this stagflation the Democrats proposed a $15-billion increase in government spending to provide an economic stimulus, the third major fiscal stimulus in four years. (This may sound familiar.) The additional spending for 1978 would raise the budget deficit to $70 billion, or about 3.5 per cent of GNP.

The establishment argued that the economic impact of this large budget deficit would be fundamentally benign. The late Walter Heller, a revered Keynesian spokesmen of the day and chairman of John F. Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors, confidently declared that this deficit did not present "even a remote specter of inflation." Similarly, the Democrat-controlled Joint Economic Committee reported: "We do not believe this deficit is inflationary, nor will it crowd private borrowers out of credit markets or reduce private economic activity."

In the event, the Keynesians' policies failed completely. In 1979 the Consumer Price Index (CPI) rose

Mr. Moore is the director of fiscal policy studies at the Cato Institute.

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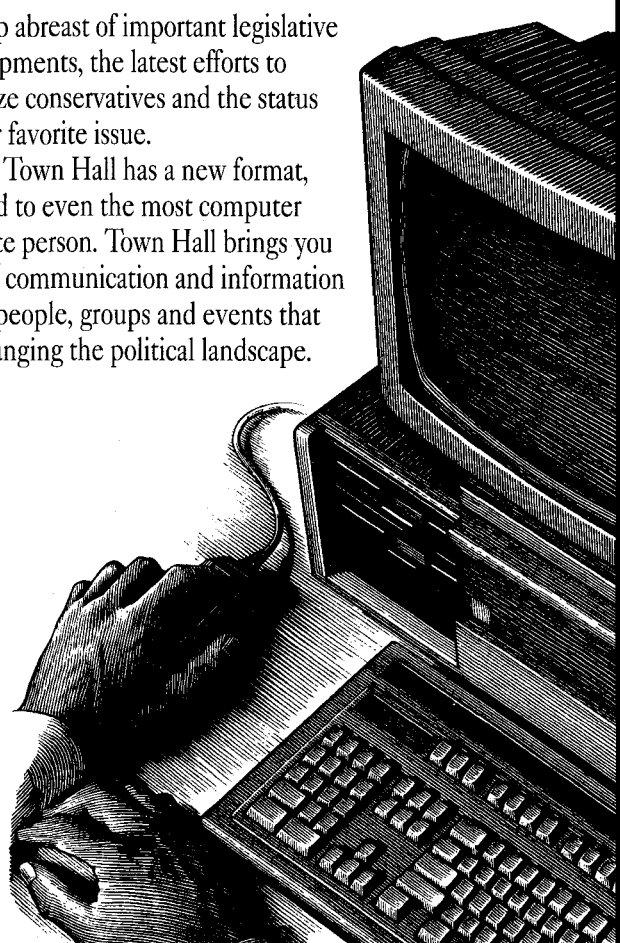

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by 13 per cent and by January 1980—the last year of the Carter Administration—the inflation rate skyrocketed to an unthinkable 18 per cent. Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers summed up the national mood: "I am aghast at how much our country has faltered." A top Carter White House official conceded, "There's a feeling that events are beyond our control."

The Keynesians were thoroughly confounded. A key element of their model is the Phillips Curve trade-off between inflation and unemployment, which predicts that prices will come down when unemployment goes up. Instead both were spiraling upward simultaneously. In 1980, Paul Samuelson, the godfather of neo-Keynesianism, wrote, "Two-digit price-inflation is a distinct possibility for much of the decade of the 1980s," predicting that from 1982 to 1987 "the CPI will average 9.4 per cent a year" and that by 1987 the unemployment rate would linger at 8.3 per cent.

Remarkable as it may seem today, the Left's prescription in 1980 was wage-and-price controls. James Tobin wrote in *The New Republic*: "There is a better and surer way to attack stagflation [than Reaganomics]. It is to organize a concerted mutual disinflation of wages, costs, and mark-ups. Announce a schedule, for a transitional five-year period of gradually declining wage-increase guide posts." Paul Samuelson also suggested a "wage-price freeze" to bring inflation down to "the hoped-for 9 per cent"; alternately, "five to ten years

Bill Clinton, GOP Savior?

BILL CLINTON has unveiled a budget plan that is an answer to the prayers of Republican political consultants and a nightmare for every Democratic senator and congressman facing re-election in 1994. His plan is loaded with more than $238 billion in higher taxes over the next four years, including an energy tax that will wallop middle-class voters who were promised a tax cut, as well as an increase in marginal tax rates that will penalize society's most productive members.

The massive tax hikes, however, are not balanced by spending cuts. Of the $324 billion of alleged deficit reduction, 74 per cent comes from higher taxes, 23 per cent is the result of further cuts in the defense budget, and 10 per cent is generated through assumed reductions in interest payments. The three figures add up to 107 per cent because the Clinton budget proposes a net increase in domestic spending. Yes, as difficult as it may be to believe, the Clinton plan imposes a tax increase nearly twice as severe as the 1990 budget deal, but leaves the fastest-growing part of the budget untouched. Indeed, not only does domestic spending receive a net increase of about $24 billion over the next four years, that increase comes on top of $245.5 billion of higher domestic spending already assumed in baseline projections.

If enacted, the Clinton plan is sure to backfire. There is no reason to believe that tax-and-spend policies which failed under Jimmy Carter and George Bush will somehow stimulate economic growth under Bill Clinton. Clinton's return to old-fashioned liberal fiscal policy should be a political godsend for Republicans, who now are placed in an enviable win-win situation. At the very least, they can vote against the Clinton tax increase and spend the next couple of years saying "I told you so" while picking off incumbent Democrats who foolishly believed *Washington Post* "news" reports that people wanted to pay higher taxes.

Alternatively, Republicans may actually defeat the Clinton tax hike. It is quite possible that unified GOP opposition, combined with defections from marginal-seat and Southern Democrats, can provide more than enough votes to derail the tax hike. And if his budget is rejected, President Clinton will almost certainly become a weakened figure, all of which will undermine his Administration's ability to push through other items on Hillary's agenda.

Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that Republicans will be smart enough to take advantage of Clinton's blunders. To do so requires a unified GOP stand against higher taxes that allows Republicans to recapture, in the voters' minds, the anti-tax position that gave the party three landslide presidential elections in the 1980s. Ironically, the biggest threat to this potential realignment may not come from Democrats, but rather from old-line Republicans in the Senate such as Robert Dole and Pete Domenici, the ranking Republican on the Senate Budget Committee.

As pointed out by liberal *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne in a recent commentary piece, "If you go through old clippings on the deficit from the Reagan and Bush years, one of the most striking findings is how similar Dole and Domenici's views are to those of Clinton's budget director, Leon Panetta." Unfortunately, Dionne is not exaggerating.

Every major tax increase enacted in the last 12 years became law with the support of Bob Dole and Pete Domenici. They both voted for the so-called Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act (TEFRA) in 1982. That law, which Ronald Reagan has referred to as the worst mistake of his Presidency, promised three dollars of spending cuts for every dollar of taxes. On the Senate floor, Dole stated: "It is the detailed, substantive program changes contained in the bill which can make all the difference in terms of real deficit reduction." Instead of cutting spending as promised, however, Congress *raised* spending by more than $1 for every $1 of new taxes and the deficit went up the following year.

Failing to learn from their mistake, Dole and Domenici voted in 1984 for the dishonestly named Deficit Reduction Act (DEFRA). Like the 1982 tax hike, DEFRA was supposed to reduce the budget deficit. Once again, though, Congress could not resist the temptation to spend expected new tax revenues and the deficit rose the following year.

Getting burned twice was not

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of austerity, in which the unemployment rate rises toward an 8 or 9 per cent average and real output inches upward at barely 1 or 2 per cent per year . . . might accomplish a gradual taming of U.S. inflation."

1979–81: Kemp–Roth Is Inflationary

WHEN Democrats under then-Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee Lloyd Bentsen set out to try another answer—a supply-side income-tax reduction, a policy Keynesians had supported under JFK as a different form of fiscal stimulus—the liberal economics establishment responded with unanimous and ferocious opposition, deploying every conceivable argument, no matter how absurd or philosophically inconsistent, against the tax cuts.

With few exceptions, the line of attack was that an income rate reduction would be inflationary. In late 1979, John Kenneth Galbraith said: "A tax cut now would be an extreme act of unwisdom. It would put new and unwelcome pressure on prices." That same year Walter Heller—the same economist who a year before had not the slightest concern over the Democrats' spending-induced deficits—said: "A $114-billion tax cut over three years would simply overwhelm our existing productive capacity with a tidal wave of demand and sweep away all hope of curbing deficits and containing inflation." In the Heller model, increasing government

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enough. Like Charlie Brown, who periodically lets Lucy talk him into kicking a football, only to wind up flat on his back when she yanks the ball away at the last second, Dole and Domenici lent their support to the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987. Enacted after the 500-point drop in the stock market, which politicians somehow interpreted as a cry for higher taxes, the 1987 bill was supposed to generate new revenues to reduce the deficit. Domenici took to the Senate floor to declare: "This will be the most significant reduction in the deficit by actual action of Congress that we have had in the history of the budget process." Not surprisingly, the deficit rose the next year.

The ultimate in bad politics and bad economics, of course, came in 1990 when Budget Director Richard Darman put together what only can be described as the most flawed budget agreement in American history (at least until the Clinton plan passes). The agreement socked the economy with massive tax increases and more federal spending in exchange for an unfulfilled promise of future deficit reduction. Had they learned from their past mistakes, Dole and Domenici probably could have used their positions of influence within the party to prevent Bush from reneging on his "no new taxes" commitment and thus saved his Presidency. Instead, they were among the deal's strongest backers. Domenici remarked that, "If this budget package is adopted, the deficit of the United States will be reduced substantially." Dole, meanwhile, spent much of his time attacking House Republicans who were working to derail the tax hike. Once again, events proved Dole and Domenici wrong. The deficit has risen to record highs since the 1990 tax increase became law.

Were it not for the misery imposed by higher taxes, this lemming-like behavior would be funny. Rest assured, however, that it will be no laughing matter for American taxpayers or the Republican Party if Dole and Domenici fail to attack aggressively the record Clinton tax increase unveiled during the President's address.

Although they have expressed doubts about the Clinton plan, both men have gone on record in favor of higher taxes this year. As reported in the January 14 *Daily Tax Report*, published by the Bureau of National Affairs:

> In an interview on CNN's *Moneyline*, Dole stated that deficit reduction is a primary issue and if Clinton is willing to make the unpopular decision to reduce the deficit, "he'll have support from our side." Further, if tax increases are necessary to meet Clinton's goal of halving the federal deficit over four years—a goal that Republicans want to hold him to despite a more dismal deficit picture—Dole agreed Republicans would join hands with the Democrats and "take away a bit of the political steam" generated from those tax hikes.

Domenici echoed Dole's comments at confirmation hearings for Leon Panetta. According to the *Daily Tax Report*:

> Domenici told Panetta—who vowed that everything was on the table for deficit reduction—that GOP support would be forthcoming if, in fact, everything is on the table. "My only admonition," Domenici warned Panetta, "is if you want Republican support . . . you have to get Republicans involved in helping with the deficit-reduction package."

For Dole and Domenici to pre-emptively surrender on the central issue of whether taxes should be raised is an economic mistake of stunning proportions. To then go out of their way to ask that Republicans be part of the process, thus ensuring that angry voters would blame both political parties for the economy's inevitable decline, is a political blunder rivaling Bush's decision to appoint Darman as budget director.

With the stock market giving the Clinton plan a definitive thumbs down and voters quickly realizing that Clinton is just another tax-and-spend liberal Democrat, it appears that the new President is well on his way to becoming another Jimmy Carter. How Dole and Domenici react in the next six months, however, will have a large impact on whether Republicans can capture the political benefits. If the two senior Republicans use their unquestioned legislative skills to join with others in the party in a principled fight against higher taxes and more spending, Bill Clinton will wish he never left Arkansas and Democrats on Capitol Hill will head for the tall grass. If, on the other hand, Dole and Domenici decide that the Republican alternative should be a package that raises taxes by a little less than Clinton proposes, it could be a very long four (or eight) years. —DANIEL J. MITCHELL

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spending presents not even "a remote specter of inflation" but tax cuts set off a "tidal wave" of rising prices.

After Ronald Reagan entered the White House on a platform of cutting taxes, the Keynesians began to sound like born-again balanced-budget zealots. Prominent Keynesian journalist Hobart Rowen of the *Washington Post* called Kemp–Roth "dangerously inflationary. Even if Congress were to pass budget cuts that matched the tax cuts dollar for dollar, there is nothing in the fiscal program—in the view of those not addicted to supply-side theory—that works against inflation."

Gardner Ackley of the University of Michigan, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, told Congress: "I am ready to predict and to promise that the effect of the President's program will not be—as he so confidently predicts—to cut the present inflation rate in half. Whatever effects it would have on the inflation rate surely would work in the opposite direction. The Administration's projection is that inflation in the CPI will decline from 11.1 per cent in 1981 to 4.2 per cent in 1986. That, I think, would surely be a miracle."

Ronald Reagan had an endearing way of making miracles happen. In 1981 he ignored the advice of Samuelson, Tobin, and the rest of the Keynesians. Rather than implement gas rationing, he immediately decontrolled oil prices, vastly loosening OPEC's stranglehold. Rather than implement across-the-board wage-and-price controls, he dismantled Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability. And in late 1981 he signed into law the act of "supreme unwisdom": the supply-side tax cuts.

What happened to inflation? Instead of accelerating as predicated, the CPI plummeted. From a peak of 12.4 per cent in 1980 it tumbled to 4.5 per cent in 1983 to 1.9 per cent in 1986. In other words, Paul Samuelson, who had predicted a 9.4 per cent inflation rate over the period, was off by about a factor of four.

1982: Reagan's Failed Experiment

IN 1982 OMB Director David Stockman forecast $200-billion deficits "for as far as the eye could see" and suddenly Keynesians, believers in the stimulative powers of deficit spending, became paragons of fiscal responsibility. Samuelson, Tobin, and other Keynesian Nobel winners began to endorse a large tax increase—that is, a fiscal contraction!—in the midst of the deepest recession since the Thirties. Galbraith lamented, "On the consequences of President Reagan's budget I find myself in harmony with the great majority of other economists and the instincts of the American people. . . . The sound instinct of the American people is that deficits of this magnitude [$100 billion in 1983] are unwise and dangerous. . . . Taxes must be raised." In early 1983, Samuelson similarly explained his support for new taxes by claiming that the deficit was causing high interest rates, thus crowding out private investment.

Here again Reagan's political enemies were confounded by actual events. The prime interest rate peaked in 1981 at 19 per cent and fell to 12 per cent in 1984 and then tumbled to 8 per cent in 1987.

But never mind that the critics were wrong. More important is their spectacular hypocrisy during the 1981–82 recession. Here were almost the entire entourage of neo-Keynesians arguing that deficits crowd out private investment, when for fifty years the whole basis of their creed was that deficits are stimulatory in times of economic contraction. If deficits *do* crowd out private investment (which may in fact be the case) then by definition they cannot be expansionary and Keynesianism is reduced to theoretical rubble. Keynesians cautioning about the evil of deficits is the equivalent of Madonna preaching against smut.

By late 1982, as America remained entangled in recession with high unemployment, the Keynesians joyfully began to write the obituary for Reaganomics. Ignoring the reminders of Paul Craig Roberts and other supply-siders that the tax cut would not be fully implemented until 1983, virtually every prominent liberal in the economics community announced that supply-side economics was a proven fraud and failure and that there was no hope for the economy's resuscitation.

For example, Alan Blinder of Princeton (the kick-off speaker at Clinton's economic summit a decade later) rejoiced in the *New York Times*: "The failed supply-side experiment has restored faith in Keynesian economics in a way that scholarly debate never can." James Tobin's outlook was all doom and gloom: "We're stuck in a worldwide depression. The only question is whether we're going to get out of it at all." Lester Thurow put it this way: "The engines of economic growth have shut down here and across the globe, and *they are likely to stay that way for years to come.*"

In early 1983, after the last phase of the "dangerous" and "unwelcome" Kemp–Roth tax cut took effect, the "implausible" Reagan recovery erupted. It would last eighty months, it would create 18 million jobs, it would produce $2.5 trillion worth of GNP growth. It would catch almost the entire economics profession thoroughly by surprise. Reagan summarized the liberal response to the boom: "Funny, they're not calling it Reaganomics anymore."

1983–89: The Imminent Collapse

FOR the rest of the decade, the Left became modern-day Chicken Littles, warning of economic collapse unless Reagan retreated from his stubborn and irresponsible opposition to new taxes. For example, Samuelson, the man who wrote the textbook on Keynesian economics, went so far as to say to the Senate Finance Committee that the "chronic budget deficit is an overconsuming evil with insidious long-run consequences for American might and affluence."

Liberal economists were confident that the Reagan recovery would be short-lived. In early 1984, Robert Reich, now Clinton's Secretary of Labor, wrote hopefully in *The New Republic*: "The recovery may not last long beyond next election day. Ronald Reagan is vul-

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WHY ALL AMERICANS SHOULD SUPPORT A MORATORIUM ON IMMIGRATION

FACT: More alien workers entered the U.S. labor market in 1992 than jobs were created, according to Immigration Service and Department of Labor statistics. America's disadvantaged workers suffer disproportionately from the steady influx of low-skilled, low-wage labor. The Zoe Baird incident was only the tip of the iceberg.

FACT: The Census Bureau now projects that there will be 383 million Americans in 2050, largely because of what *The Washington Post* describes as "massive immigration." That's 50 percent more Americans than there are today, and 83 million more than the Census Bureau projected just four years ago.

FACT: Thousands of illegal immigrants enter the country every day—2 million to 3 million a year. Even Clinton's job stimulus package can't employ all new immigrants who are arriving. Fake documents are easily obtained, providing access to benefits meant for legal residents.

Our national political leadership is apparently unaware that a majority of Americans of all ethnic backgrounds favor reduced immigration (Roper Poll, May 1992; Latino National Political Survey, December 1992). In fact, immigration policymakers seem more concerned with pleasing the special interests than doing the will of the people they are elected to serve.

The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) wants to change that.

FAIR is calling for a moratorium on immigration, excluding immediate families of U.S. citizens, until our political leaders:

1. eliminate illegal immigration;
2. assess the economic, social, and environmental impact of immigration;
3. air the issue in national debate; and
4. develop a comprehensive U.S. immigration policy consistent with national goals.

The facts speak for themselves. Immigration is an important issue that needs to be addressed with regard to its impact on health care, labor, industrial development, and the environment. It's time for you to get involved and help make a difference in America's future.

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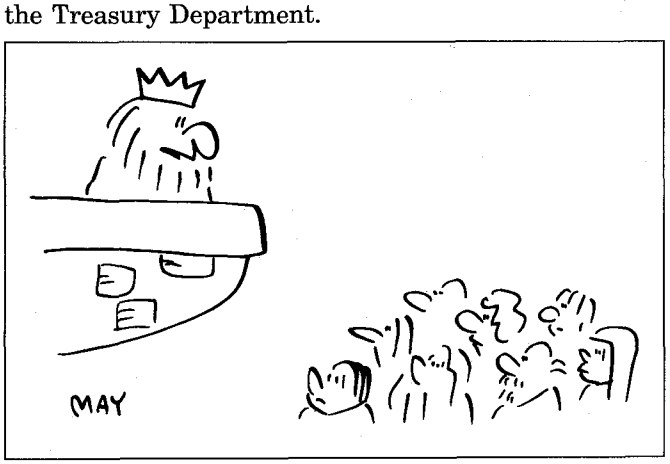
nerable on the economy. The new voters now surging into the electorate know that the recovery is not for them. If the Democrats succeed in offering an economic vision responsive to this political reality, they may well sweep Congress and the White House in 1984."

Reich was not the only one whose predictions would prove wildly off target. Economists Paul Krugman of MIT and Larry Summers of Harvard, both close Clinton allies, wrote that the reduction of inflation in 1981 and 1982 was merely a temporary aberration. They warned of an "Inflation Time Bomb" that would explode during 1983: "It is reasonable to expect a significant reacceleration of inflation in the near future. Much of the apparent progress against inflation has resulted from the *temporary* side effects of tight money and high real interest rates. These side effects must be expected to reverse themselves as real interest rates decline and the economy expands. . . . A significant portion of the slowing of consumer price inflation since 1980 does not represent a reduction in the underlying rate."

In medicine, such a severe misdiagnosis is grounds for a malpractice suit. In law, for disbarment. In economics, the result is a choice job in the Clinton Administration: Larry Summers is now a high-level aide in the Treasury Department.



"Look, during any period of economic recovery, a certain number of people are going to starve to death."

Throughout the 1980s, left-wing economists were unwavering in their assurances that recession was lurking right around the corner. The only escape route from financial catastrophe was major new taxes. But every year they would be disappointed as the economic expansion continued and Reagan "stubbornly" refused to yield to a tax hike. Increasingly frustrated, they began to ascribe Reagan's economic successes to good fortune. "Luck was on [Reagan's] side," Robert Reich insisted. "OPEC crumbled, world commodity prices declined, the recession of 1981–82 was so severe that the bounce back has been vigorous." This is now a standard refrain: Reagan bears no responsibility for any of the geopolitical or economic events that happened during his Presidency except Iran-Contra, the growth of the deficit, and the savings-and-loan crisis.

The luck seemed to end with the stock-market crash in 1987. John Kenneth Galbraith exulted: "This debacle marks the last chapter of Reaganomics. It is the product of supply-side economics—the irresponsible tax cut, the high interest rates that bid up the dollar and subsidized imports . . . This is the end product of Arthur Laffer's supply-side economics and Milton Friedman's experiment with monetarism."

Their solution was, of course, more taxes. Robert Solow, who had just won the Nobel prize, demanded that Reagan and Congress "get down to business. You have to have a tax increase." Roger Altman of the Blackstone Group, now second in command at Clinton's Treasury Department, suggested a 50-cent-a-gallon gasoline tax increase to settle the jittery financial markets.

The liberal doomsayers successfully exploited the crisis atmosphere to wrangle Reagan into a modest tax increase—but nothing near what they had wanted. When the Dow Jones recovered within two months with no sign of permanent wear and tear on the economy, the Left shrank back to the sidelines.

But Don't Cut Spending

DESPITE the routinely promised apocalyptic consequences of the Reagan deficits, the Keynesians never approved of cutting spending. In fact, these deficit hawks savagely attacked Reagan's deficits *and* his proposed domestic budget cuts—sometimes in the same testimony before Congress. After an obligatory attack against Reagan's irresponsible deficits, James Tobin dubbed Reagan's domestic budget cuts in welfare and jobs programs "mean-spirited," the reduction in federal aid to states "a step backward," and the proposed termination of subsidies for the National Endowment for the Arts and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting "narrow-minded and vindictive." Ray Marshall, Labor Secretary under Jimmy Carter, told the Joint Economic Committee that the Reagan domestic cuts would "clearly weaken the economy" while Reagan's military build-up was an "independent source of inflationary pressure." In a preview of the rhetoric soon to come, Marshall lamented that Reagan did not view domestic programs as "public investments."

Throughout the 1980s the Keynesians were equally unenthusiastic about deficit-reducing budget reforms. They met the Gramm–Rudman–Hollings deficit reduction law with uniform hostility. Tobin called it "mindless" and "desperate"; in 1989, Alice Rivlin, now Bill Clinton's deputy budget director, announced, "It's a well-intentioned experiment that failed . . . It is time to recognize the mistake before more damage is done." What damage? Between 1985 and 1989 the federal budget deficit declined from 6 per cent to 3 per cent of GNP. If their concerns over the federal debt were sincere, the Left should have been cheerleading for the budget law. In fact, liberals had gambled that Gramm–Rudman would eventually force Reagan to capitulate on new taxes; when it didn't, they demanded a repeal to forestall spending cuts.

Even more illuminating was their opposition to a balanced-budget amendment. Whenever Congress was forced to vote on the issue, the Keynesian Nobel win-

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ners would rush to Capitol Hill to warn of its destructive effects. In 1984 Franco Modigliani, a Keynesian Nobel laureate, and not one usually prone to hyperbole, said that the amendment would be a "formulation for disaster." Only weeks before he had sounded the alarm for fiscal responsibility, grimly noting that the deficit had become such an overriding impediment to economic health that an increase in income-tax rates was a necessity.

In the 1990s the pro-tax and pro-spend agenda of the Keynesians became even more pronounced. In the pivotal year 1990, they were nearly unanimous in their opinion that the "fragile" U.S. economy could never handle a $100-billion cut under Gramm–Rudman. Yet the same pundits who warned that Gramm–Rudman spending reductions would be catastrophic erupted in applause when Bush and Congress released the budget-summit plan of a $200-billion tax hike. In other words, deficit reduction through spending cuts would be economically debilitating, but a plan to raise taxes by roughly the same amount was wise and prudent.

James Tobin, a principal cheerleader for the budget deal, told the *Wall Street Journal* that, although he would have preferred the tax increase sooner, his professional opinion was that the recession should not deter its passage. According to Tobin, a credible deficit package would reduce interest rates, which would cushion the impact of the fiscal contraction.

This was a remarkable about-face. If reducing the deficit in the midst of an economic downturn lowers interest rates, then by the same logic increasing the deficit must raise interest rates. That means a fiscal stimulus cannot be expansionary, even though that's what Professor Tobin preached at Yale for thirty years.

1992: Time for a Fiscal Stimulus

AFTER two years of the budget deal, the deficit exploded to a peacetime record $300 billion and 6 per cent of GDP. One would expect the liberal deficit hawks to be nearly apoplectic over this surge in red ink. But strangely, just the opposite is the case. Now the standard economic line is that a $30 to 50 billion fiscal spending stimulus is necessary. For example, Paul Samuelson had called the $150-billion Reagan deficit an "all-consuming evil"; last year, with the deficit twice as high, he told Congress it should expand unemployment insurance, provide more grants to states and cities, and approve other new short-run stimulus measures. In the same 1992 hearings, James Tobin told Congress that "public investments in education, health care, public health, infrastructure, and environmental protection have been underfunded. . . . At present there is plenty of room in the economy for them, and an increase in the budget deficit to pay for them is in any case a desirable allocation of saving rather than a diversion of saving to private or public consumption."

Similarly, Clinton confidant Robert Solow of MIT offered this nonsensical advice in a recent *New York Times* article: "Almost any kind of prompt action to increase total demand is desirable, and there is every reason to believe that direct fiscal steps will be effective. A temporary widening of the budget deficit is a price well worth paying, in fact not much of a price at all: it will lead to more, not less, private investment."

Honestly, I am not making these quotes up. This is simply a bizarre new twist to Keynesianism, one rapidly gaining adherents in left-wing intellectual circles. The notion is that when government spends people's money, that is good: "investment." But when individuals spend their own money, that is bad: "consumption." The more the government spends, the better off we and our children are and never mind the deficit.

Another disciple of this new voodoo economics is Hobart Rowen, who recently wrote, "The nation is in trouble primarily because the private sector has overproduced for the consumer, while the public sector, including state and local governments, has been literally starved for resources." In fact, between 1980 and 1991 state and local budgets rose by an enormous 48 per cent—*after* adjusting for inflation. Similarly, the Federal Government in real dollars spent $900 billion in 1980 and $1.5 trillion this year. Who's starving?

It gets worse. The policy statement recently signed by more than one hundred economists, the intellectual underpinning for Clinton's budget proposal, is a landmark in economic double-speak. Its overall policy recommendation is $50 billion in additional grants to local governments financed through higher deficits and an easing of monetary policy by the Fed. Providing a fiscal stimulus by reducing income taxes, as Clinton once thought to do, "is exactly the wrong approach because that would promote consumption, not investment." One wonders what these academics think big-city mayors would do with $50 billion in free money—prudently invest it in the stock market? In any case, under the Keynesian model that Samuelson, Tobin, and the others have refined over the past thirty years, the idea of a fiscal stimulus is precisely to promote consumption.

The statement concludes that when the recovery begins, the spending splurge should continue while defense cuts and higher taxes erase the deficit. This completes the recommendations from liberal economics establishment: easy money, higher civilian government spending, higher taxes, reductions in the military, and much higher energy prices (this time engineered not by OPEC or the Ayatollah, but the U.S. Government through higher energy taxes). This is the set of policies in place during the glory years of the 1970s.

Actually, it is worse than that. It is not Carternomics. It is not Keynesianism. It is simply tax-and-spend liberalism masquerading as an intellectually coherent economic policy. It is a program rooted not in scholarship, empiricism, or theory, but only in blind ideology—a belief in the absolute efficacy of government.

Such gobbledygook may give Clinton intellectual cover, but it cannot produce good results. Keynes famously wrote off long-term problems by noting "in the long run, we are all dead." Under Clinton's Keynesians, in the long run, we will all be a lot poorer. □

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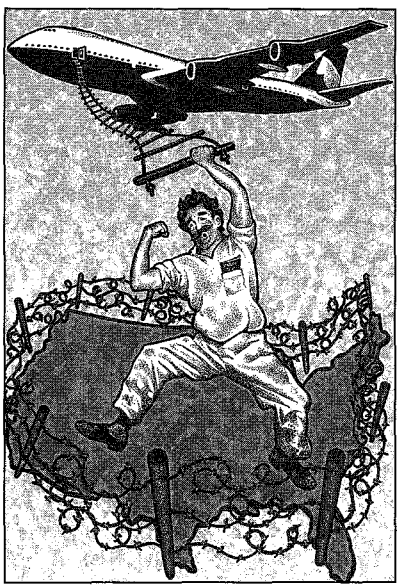

On the Border?

THE NEW JET SET

Think the Rio Grande is a porous border? Try New York's JFK, where anyone can enter through the magic of political asylum.

IRA H. MEHLMAN

IT'S a slow day at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport. Mondays usually are. "You should be here on a Friday or a Saturday, that's when the action is," says one of the uniformed immigration inspectors who deal with up to 1,300 political-asylum claimants a month.

At the secondary inspection area in the East Wing of JFK's International Arrivals Building, a Liberian national is entering a claim for political asylum. He is traveling on a British passport which he purchased for $300 in Bangkok. The flight that he arrived on several hours earlier originated in Tokyo.

The man, about 30, has his lines well rehearsed: "My uncle was killed in an attempted coup. He was a soldier in [Samuel] Doe's army."

"What would happen if you would go back?" asks a skeptical officer from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

"I'm afraid of the situation," replies the Liberian.

"What would happen?" insists the officer, a man who has clearly heard it all before.

"My father was killed," the Liberian states emphatically.

"When?"

A long pause. "February. February '92. My mother is in Ghana."

"When did she go?"

"I don't know."

"Did she go to Ghana alone?"

"I cannot say."

The interview drags on. Both men are going through the charade. The Liberian will be out on the street in a matter of hours—he knows it and so does the officer.

The political-asylum claimant left Liberia in 1988, stowing away by ship to Thailand. Two years later he moved on to Malaysia, then back to Bangkok, followed by a stint in Japan. Frustrated by poor earnings over the past four years, he's decided to try the land of opportunity: the United States.

He has a bogus passport, he's been out of Liberia for four years, but he knows the magic words that will get him past the harried officers at JFK. Once he utters "political asylum" his chances of remaining in the United States are 93 per cent.

"We're being deluged. It's scandalous," complains the officer filling out the papers on this case. "In a matter of hours he's going to be walking out onto the street joining the ranks of the unemployed. We don't know anything about him. We don't know if he has AIDS. We don't know if he's a murderer." In most cases immigration authorities don't even find out a real name. It's a complaint heard over and over again from any of the 360 immigration officers who work America's most unguarded border—JFK.

Last year 14,688 excludable aliens attempted to enter the United States through JFK, nearly triple the number just two years earlier. Of these, 9,194, or 63 per cent, asked for political asylum. All but 428 of them had either fraudulent documents or no documents at all.

The deck is stacked in favor of the aliens. The detention center at JFK airport has a maximum capacity of 100 beds and only 12 to 15 vacancies for some 1,300 new excludable aliens every month. For someone contemplating illegal immigration, it's difficult to find better odds. "During fiscal 1992, I detained only 1,169 of the 15,000 inadmissibles who came through JFK," says William Slattery, New York district director for the INS.

In total, only about 7 per cent of the inadmissible aliens who come in at JFK can be detained. The rest are simply released onto the street and asked to present themselves for a hearing at a future date. "We have no good, solid data" on how many ever show up for their hearings, says Duke Austin, an INS spokesman. "I know it sounds crazy, but it's just not collected." On background, other INS people concede that probably not more than 5 per cent of the airport asylum claimants are ever heard from again.

Records, Anyone?

BEGINNING last October, the INS started keeping computerized records of asylum seekers who come through Kennedy and other major airports. INS also no longer lets a claimant leave the airport before it has scheduled him for a preliminary hearing before an asylum judge. The

Mr. Mehlman is director of media outreach for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). This article was written in his private capacity.

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first hearings under the new rules had been set for mid January, which means the INS will finally have some hard data about how many of these asylum seekers actually bother to show up. The new system won't make it any easier to apprehend and deport the no-shows, but at least INS will know how many people are scamming the system.

China and the Asian subcontinent are the prime sources of jet-set asylum seekers, accounting for more than two-thirds of the applicants at JFK. The remainder are from an assortment of countries in Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the Caribbean. Though U.S. immigration authorities in recent months have moved to crack down on abuses through fines against the airlines and pre-boarding inspection of passengers in countries such as India and Pakistan, it has done little to slow down the flow.

By and large, the "jet people" phenomenon is well-orchestrated. Though some of the asylum seekers have made it to JFK on their own, most, particularly those from China, India, and Pakistan, rely on professional smugglers. For a fee, generally in the $30,000 range, the smuggler provides them with an airline ticket, a high-quality phony passport (which, if it's not destroyed en route to the United States, is often secretly turned over to the smuggler on the last leg of the voyage to be recycled for the next group of "refugees"), and a tale of persecution.

Veteran immigration officers at JFK say they can easily identify the smuggling rings' local agents hanging around the International Arrivals terminal, waiting for their clients to finish up their paperwork and be on their way: they're the ones with the cellular telephones.

For some arrivals, particularly among the Pakistanis, the U.S. is not even the final objective—Canada is. Being admitted to Canada for political asylum is like hitting the lottery jackpot: the benefit package there—including welfare, education, resettlement assistance, and more—is worth considerably more than a similar package here. But Canada does a much better job of overseas screening of potential asylum-seekers, weeding out the ones with bad documents before they board Canada-bound planes—so Kennedy airport, it seems, has become a back door to Canada.

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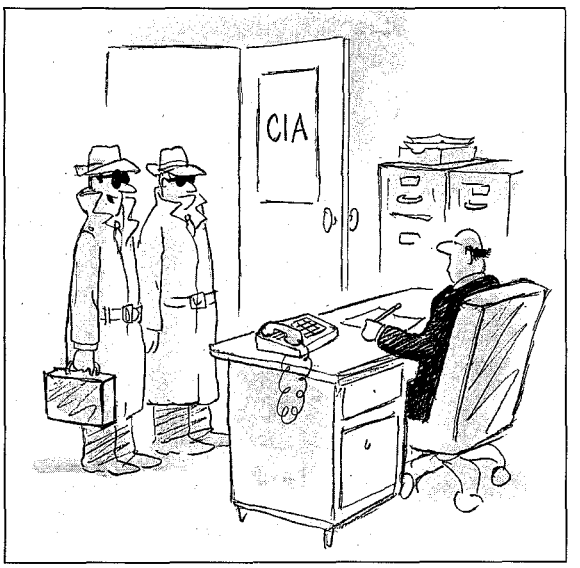
Regardless of whether the United States is the asylum-seeker's ultimate destination, or just a stop along the way, JFK's International Arrival terminal has become a virtual open door for anyone who pushes on it. The law says that anyone who requests political asylum in the U.S., regardless of the circumstances of his arrival, must be given a hearing. The system is so backed up that it takes a minimum of four months to bring a claimant before a judge for a preliminary hearing and 14 months before the actual facts of the claim are heard in court. A particularly sore point for the INS's Slattery is the length of time it can take to resolve even the most bogus asylum claim. The judges "have no standards they are supposed to meet, no work performance plans," he complains.



"We'll get right on it, chief—which *Hussein?"*

There are plans in the works to quadruple the number of detention spaces available at Kennedy by October of this year, but even that, Slattery points out, will be woefully inadequate. Even assuming that there isn't an increase in asylum claimants coming through JFK, 400 beds would still accommodate only 28 per cent of the current traffic.

If anyone is less pleased about the whole situation than the INS, it is the airlines. Each time someone shows up without proper documents, it costs the carrier $3,000 and the fine may soon be raised to $5,000. The U.S. Government fined the airlines $20 million last year for delivering undocumented or badly documented passengers to U.S. airports. Half of those fines were levied at JFK.

Jet People?

THE West Wing of International Arrivals is a mirror image of the East Wing. In a room identical to the East Wing's inspection area sit three Indian nationals with white sheets of paper stapled to their jackets bearing their names (aliases, most likely) and the name of the airline on which they arrived. All three have arrived without passports, asking political asylum. Confident the minor inconvenience of the airport waiting room will soon be behind them, they offer no more information and claim not to speak English.

Sitting in a row in front of the Indians are five Chinese nationals who have also arrived without documents. "The Chinese don't have to claim political asylum," says a Chinese-speaking agent who is handling the paper work. "They're all protected by the executive order" issued after the Tiananmen Square massacre. Though the order technically applies only to Chinese who were present in the U.S. prior to June 4, 1989, in practice it makes it virtually impossible to deport any Chinese national.

The five in the JFK inspection room arrived after an odyssey that would make anyone looking to pad a frequent-flyer account green with envy. Hong Kong to Paris. Paris to Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo to New York. The more indirect the route, the Chinese-speaking officer relates, the less scrutiny the travelers and their documents receive. There were seven people on their flight from the Dominican Republic: none had a visa to enter the United States, but all were planning to stay.

One well-dressed thirty-year-old woman was seeking political asylum based on China's single-child-per-family rule. "I'm afraid of forced sterilization if I return to China," reads her Q&A sheet, as filled out by the immigration officer. Her first child remains behind in China with the woman's mother. Her husband has been living in the U.S. since 1989. She doesn't know his address, but has a phone number for him in New Jersey.

A younger woman, in her late teens, stares shyly at the floor as she answers the questions posed in Chinese by Officer Catherine Bryant. The younger woman does not directly request asylum. When asked why she is here, she replies, "I heard life was better in the United States." She has no documents of her own, only the tattered business card of Bing Wong, a real-estate agent in the Elmhurst section of Queens who she describes vaguely as a distant relative.

Both women claim that they paid—or have promised to pay—the smuggler $30,000. The older woman's husband may have been able to come up with the cash to smuggle his wife into the U.S. The younger one will almost assuredly be working off her passage for many years to come in the sweatshops or restaurants of Chinatown. Many of the Chinese being smuggled into the United States wind up in a state of indentured servitude or as foot soldiers in the Chinese underworld.

A Ghanian woman is sitting alone in the front row of the waiting room, sobbing uncontrollably. She has just disembarked from a KLM flight from Amsterdam. The Dutch passport she is carrying is a valid one, but it does not belong to her. The photo on the document bears a resemblance to her, but on close inspection it is clearly the photo of another woman.

The sobbing woman has been living in the Netherlands for the past two years. She has not requested political asylum there because she has an aunt in New York whom she wishes to join. Upon arrival in New York she claims political persecution, for the first time.

Overload

POLITICAL ASYLUM was first codified into U.S. law in 1980, when Congress passed sweeping reforms of the refugee laws. At the time it was estimated that about 5,000 people a year would seek asylum in the U.S. In recent years, the number of asylum requests has exploded to about 100,000 annually. Because the system was never designed to handle anything approaching that volume, and because every claim must get a hearing, it can take years for the process to play itself out.

The system's Achilles' heel is the right granted to each person who presses a claim for political asylum to

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have his case heard by a judge. The more people who apply, the more the system becomes bogged down. The more bogged down the system becomes, the more inviting it becomes for those filing bogus claims.

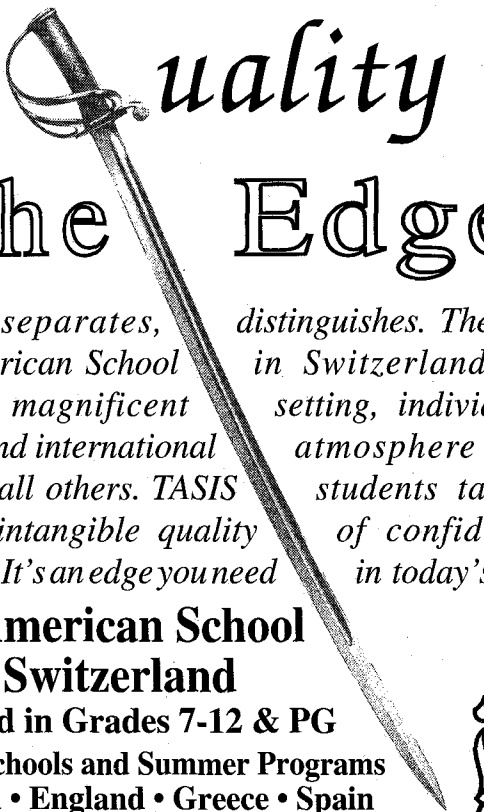
Jonathan Fuchs, who represents Iceland Air and other Europe-based carriers, would like to see summary exclusion for obvious abusers of the process, particularly aliens who flush their documents down the airplane toilet and then ask for political asylum. "Flushers should not get an automatic right to go see a judge. Just because they get their feet on the ground in the U.S. doesn't mean they're entitled to a hearing," he claims.

The airlines would much rather put these people on the next flight back to wherever it is they came from, and not have to pay the $3,000 fine for delivering an inadmissible alien to the U.S. "When someone arrives at JFK or any other international airport, they are at the functional equivalent of a border," and if they lack adequate documentation, they ought to be turned around and sent back, Fuchs contends.

Slattery would like to see summary exclusion for applicants who have entered by way of a third, presumably safe, country. The majority of claimants at JFK fall into this category. "If I have someone from China who has been through six or seven countries before finally asking for asylum when they hit JFK, I don't see why I should have to admit them," he says.

In striking contrast to your typical illegal alien who sneaks across the border, an asylum claimant who arrives at an airport without documents or with phony documents is almost always rewarded not only with admission to the U.S., but also with authorization to hold employment for as long as he can manage to clog the court's docket. With work authorization, the asylum abuser can obtain a Social Security card and a driver's license, the de-facto identifiers used by most Americans to prove eligibility for everything from welfare benefits to the right to vote.

Although the casual way in which we hand out these documents usually amounts to nothing more than the government aiding and abetting violation of our immigration laws, the consequences can be more serious. In the case of Mir Aimal Kansi, the man alleged to have gone on a shooting spree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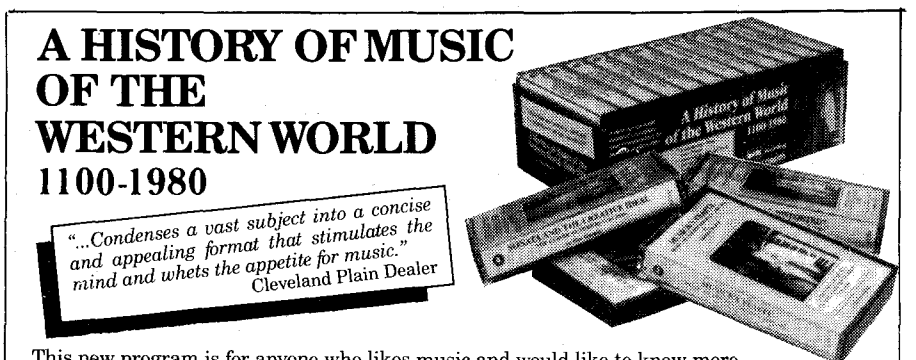
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outside CIA headquarters last month, that laxness led to two deaths and three other people being wounded.

Kansi, a Pakistani citizen, entered the United States through JFK in February 1991 using what the INS now believes was a phony business visa (which he overstayed anyway). A year later, Kansi applied for political asylum at the INS office in Arlington, Virginia. Using the work-authorization document issued to him by the INS, Kansi was able to obtain a Social Security card and a Virginia driver's license. With that license Kansi had all the documentation he needed to purchase the AK-47 rifle he allegedly used to go on his rampage. Ironically, although nearly a year had passed between the time he filed his asylum petition and the date of the shootings, his case had not been scheduled for a hearing.

Enter EMK

EVEN WHEN the results are not quite so tragic, the abuse of asylum at JFK airport, though still relatively small, tends to have greater outrage value than other forms of illegal immigration. People sneaking past Border Patrol, even in much greater numbers, are less irritating than people who mock our humanitarianism. Senator Edward Kennedy, who chairs the Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee and who has traditionally worked for more liberal immigration and asylum laws, has dispatched two top aides, Jerry Tinker and Michael Meyers, to JFK to assess the situation.

After seeing the situation firsthand, Tinker, the subcommittee chief of staff, agrees that the asylum system is abused. Kennedy's subcommittee plans to hold hearings on the problem sometime in the spring. But Tinker believes the problem can be handled without requiring any new legislation. Additional detention facilities at the airport and quick hearings for asylum claimants, he believes, will deter people from abusing the system.

When Los Angeles International Airport boosted its detention capacity to 800 beds, asylum abuse all but stopped there. The addition of the extra detention space at LAX, however, also happened to coincide with the increase of asylum abuse at JFK. It seems likely, then, that simply building more detention facilities at JFK will not solve the problem; rather, it is likely to shift it to some other airport less well-equipped to hold inadmissible aliens.

While Tinker opposes summary exclusion as premature and unnecessary, he does favor a quick airport hearing for applicants and the immediate return of those whose claims have no merit. This is precisely what was being done in the case of Haitian boat people until last May. "While we agree this is a real problem that needs to be nipped in the bud, I would like to see them have a hearing and be put back on a plane. I don't think civil libertarians could have any problem with that," says Tinker.

But they do have a problem with it,

"Remember, it's not whether you win or lose, but how much you make."

says Arthur C. Helton, director of the Refugee Project for the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. A quick airport hearing and a prompt return flight for those whose claims are deemed to be totally lacking in merit is wrong, in Helton's opinion. "There would have to be a more substantial procedure" to ensure that an asylum claimant is guaranteed the full protection of the law.

Helton accuses Senator Kennedy and others of political grandstanding. The phenomenon of airport asylum seekers is "a relatively discrete problem, but it's one that policy-makers are quite tempted to fix because it's relatively controllable," says Helton. He points out that compared to the more than 5,000 illegal aliens who sneak across the U.S.–Mexico border every day, the 15,000 a year who brazenly march through JFK are a mere drop in the ocean.

The ideal solution would be to screen out the abusers before they ever set foot on American soil. Under the law, a person must have physically reached the United States in order to press a claim of political asylum. A mobile corps of just ten agents moving from airport to airport to keep smugglers off-guard, says Slattery, would have a greater deterrence potential than the 360 agents currently at JFK.

Oh, Canada

THE CANADIAN Immigration Service tested a similar program for six weeks beginning in November, and their preliminary findings indicate a reduction in the number of bogus asylum claimants turning up at Canadian airports. Prescreening of passengers before they board flights to the U.S. can work, but it is a somewhat dicey proposition for the INS and the airlines.

Neither the U.S. Government nor the airlines want to appear to be hassling legitimate visitors. Adding to the problem is the matter of racial and ethnic sensitivities. Inevitably, somebody is going to raise an objection if the only passengers whose documents are closely scrutinized happen to be wearing turbans. Moreover, refugee-rights advocates have serious reservations about such screenings in countries whose human-rights records are suspect. Pulling someone with bad documents out of line in London or Paris is one thing. Pulling that person out of line in Karachi or Bombay is quite another matter, says Helton.

The number of people seeking political asylum will continue to grow as long as the odds of beating the system remain so high. Other democratic countries have concluded that the only way of dealing with asylum abuse is through summary exclusion of people they know are abusing the process. In some European countries, people who show up without documents, with phony documents, or who have traveled through other safe countries are simply presumed to be asylum abusers and are sent packing.

In a highly mobile world filled with billions of desperately poor people, some of the rules may have to be reconsidered. Our commitment to due

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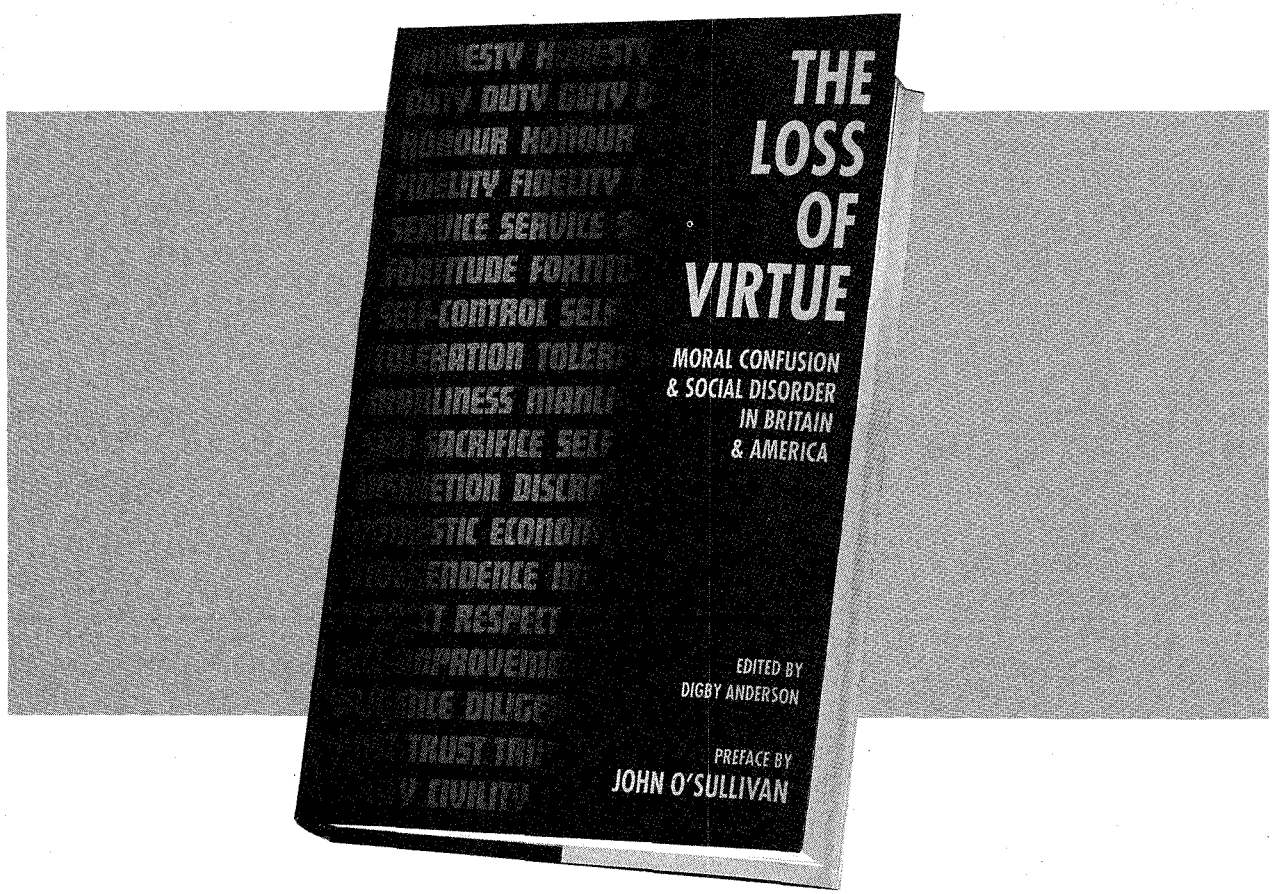
The Loss of Virtue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process is admirable, but it has clearly become a magnet for abuse. Under such circumstances, blind obeisance to the notion that every human being on planet earth is entitled to a day in an American court, no matter how frivolous the claim to asylum, can only undermine our ability to protect the truly persecuted.

Applying to come to the United States as an immigrant or a refugee can entail years of waiting. Entering illegally means risking apprehension. Going the political-asylum route, however, means no waiting your turn, a set of documents entitling you to work, and a virtual assurance that you'll never be caught. The only thing that's surprising is that far more people haven't caught on.

Back in the East Wing of International Arrivals at JFK, a Dominican who has been sitting in the secondary inspection area for about 24 hours—the immigration officers suspect he is a criminal—gives up and asks to be sent home. He's destined to be one of the unlucky 7 per cent who winds up in detention. A return flight home sounds like a much better option.

A victory of sorts—at least for now. "He'll try again," says the immigration officer as he begins filling out the inevitable forms. □

The Dream and the Nightmare

REBELS WITH A CAUSE

How did the underclass form? We forgot how to prevent it.

MYRON MAGNET

IT HAD all the makings of one of those Hollywood heartwarmers, in which the tough but loving schoolteacher charms and bullies his delinquent pupils into becoming model citizens, teenage-style. Here was George Cadwalader, a central-casting dream: a handsome ex-Marine captain with smiling, crinkly eyes and limitless courage, he had a plan irresistible in its mix of idealism, toughness, and adventure. He would gather up a crew of delinquents from the toughest neighborhoods of Massachusetts and transport them to a deserted island. There they would build their own house, cut their own firewood, and grow and cook their own food. By coming to grips with life's basic realities, they would learn responsibility and teamwork, discover inner strength and self-confidence, and be converted.

But it was Cadwalader who got converted. He woke up one morning to find all the chickens his little community was raising fluttering helplessly on the ground, dazed with pain. In a paroxysm of sadism, each chicken's two legs had been savagely wrenched out of their joints. All that could be done was to put the broken creatures out of their misery. Which boy had done such a deed, and why, Cadwalader never knew for certain.

But he knew that the certainties with which he'd started his experiment had crumbled within him. He and his associates had begun by holding "without question the assumption that bad kids were simply the products of bad environments," he recalls in *Castaways*, his striking account of the experiment. "We believed changing the environment could change the kid. . . ." Yet the vast majority of his charges didn't change, despite transplantation to the island's militantly salubrious environment.

Far from it. When he followed up his first 106 boys, he discovered that in seven years they'd been charged with 3,391 crimes, 309 of them violent. He came to feel that the boys

> appear incapable of love, driven by unfocused anger, and prone to impulsive behavior without regard to consequences. . . . [W]hen I look objectively at the trail of destruction left by our own graduates, I cannot avoid the conclusion that the world would have been a better place if most of the kids I grew to like at Penikese [Island] had never been born.

What Causes Crime?

THEORIES of crime have to make an assumption about whether men are predisposed by nature to force and violence or whether violence gets into their hearts from some outside source. The theory Cadwalader felt his experiment had disproved is that men are intrinsically peaceful creatures, inclined, when necessary, to cooperate harmoniously with their fellows, and that the diseased social environment causes violence and crime. Crime is an artificial growth, grafted onto human life by the development of societies and governments. Central to today's ideology, this theory gives potential wrongdoers exactly the wrong message: it tends to excuse criminals from personal responsibility for crime, pinning it on social circumstances instead.

Thomas Paine, among others, planted such theories deep in the American imagination. Since in the youth of the world men were peaceful tenders of flocks and herds, he demanded, how did crime and cruelty enter human affairs? Only because in each part of the world the peaceful inhabitants were set upon by "a banditti of ruffians," who made themselves their masters and exacted tribute. By such brute violence were all existing political societies founded; the robber chieftains who established them were the first kings. Even now, Paine said, the animating principle of all societies remains the oppression of the poor and weak by the rich and powerful. No wonder that men seethe with ugly passions and commit criminal deeds: they have been deformed by injustice and terror, by the criminal conspiracy

Mr. Magnet is an editor at Fortune. *This article is adapted from his book,* The Dream and the Nightmare: The Sixties' Legacy to the Underclass, *© 1993 by Myron Magnet, to be published in March by William Morrow & Co., Inc.*

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against them that is political society.

Americans don't have to go back to Revolutionary times for first-hand knowledge of government-sanctioned oppression. They can think of Southern slavery or institutionalized racial discrimination. With respect to their black fellow-citizens, especially, Americans are readily inclined to think crime the fault of society, not of the criminal. Born of unwholesome social conditions, crime may be a rebellion—perhaps justified—against injustice and oppression.

These ideas became dominant at the start of the Sixties. Ramsey Clark, Lyndon Johnson's attorney general and assistant attorney general in the Kennedy Administration, luminously embodied the spirit of the age. "[C]rime among poor blacks . . . flows clearly and directly from the brutalization and dehumanization of racism, poverty, and injustice," he wrote in 1970, summing up his experience as the nation's top law-enforcement officer. For this, blame mainstream culture. "To permit conditions that breed anti-social conduct to continue is our greatest crime," he charges.

It's a sign of our present times that once George Cadwalader proved this utterly orthodox structure of thought false, he was stumped. His old theory in pieces, he lacked a new one to put in its place.

The intellectual framework he was grasping toward isn't obscure: it is the great tradition of political philosophy that includes Plato, St. Augustine, Hobbes, Burke, even Freud. Yet it is a tradition with which modern thinking has largely lost touch. It holds that as men come from the hand of nature they are instinctively aggressive, with an inbuilt inclination to violence.

The fundamental purpose of the social order is to restrain man's instinctual aggressiveness, so that human life can be something higher than a war of all against all. The great seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political theorists imagined that the restraint was accomplished by a social contract: driven to desperation by the universal warfare that made their lives "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short," in Hobbes's famous phrase, men in the early ages of the world entered into an agreement, by which each man renounced his unlimited freedom of aggression in order to promote the security of all.

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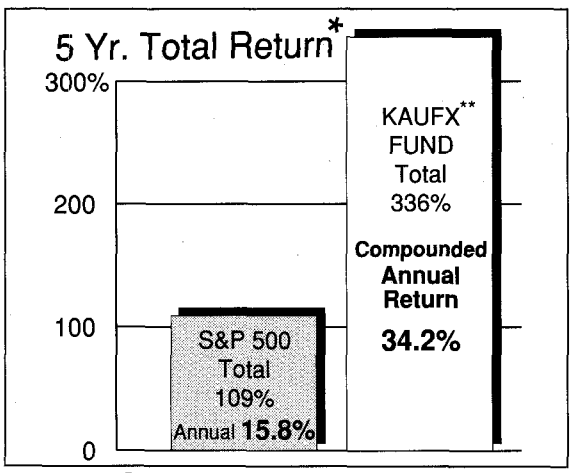

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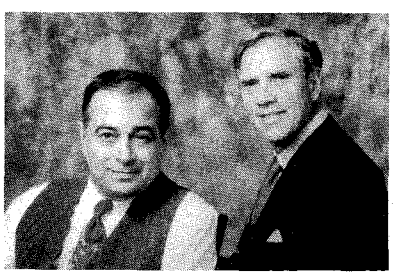

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Sigmund Freud offers an up-to-date version of this line of thought. The taming of aggression and the replacement of the rule of force by the rule of law isn't something that happened only in the history of the race, he argues. It takes place in each individual's history, too.

In early childhood, the continual pressure of parental demands makes each person renounce the unlimited aggressiveness with which he was born. This process transforms our innermost being. As we internalize the civilizing demands of our parents and the community which speaks through them, we acquire an entirely new mental faculty, a part of our inner selves given us not by nature but by society. This, in Freud's unlovely term, is the superego; analogous to the conscience, it punishes one with shame and guilt, speaking with the voice not of divinity but of society.

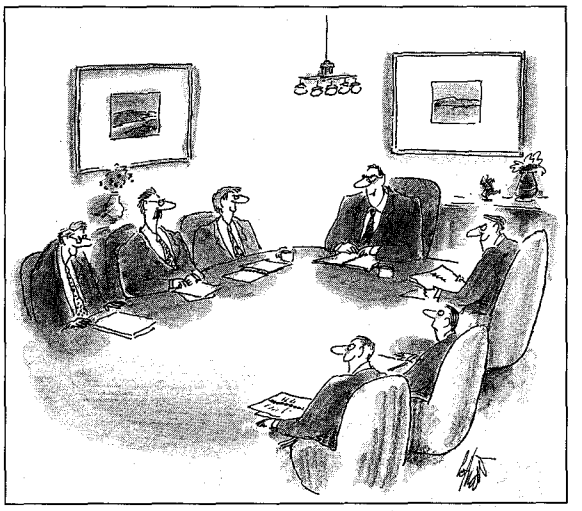
This new inner faculty is what differentiates men from beasts. For this tradition in political philosophy believes that only in their social relations do men achieve the rational, moral, cooperative existence that defines humanity. Only as a social creature, his aggressiveness held in check by the inner transformation that immersion in the social medium works on him, does man become fully man, able to build cities, create art and science, and attain virtue.

Internal Law

LOOKED AT through assumptions like these, crime takes on an entirely different appearance than the one it has in Ramsey Clark's eyes and in American orthodoxy today. Not only does the social order not *cause* crime, it is the very thing that *restrains* crime, making man's life something other than a scene of constant mutual invasion, in which all live in continual fear and danger of violence.

In this light, crime takes on the closest links to culture. For though the governmental structure of force and threat—police, judges, and prisons—is a key means by which society restrains aggression and crime, it isn't the principal means. The most powerful curb is the *internal* inhibition society builds into each man's character, the inner voice (call it reason, conscience, superego, what you will) that makes the social contract an integral part of our deepest selves.

So while to prevent crime we should worry about whether judges are too lenient or legal procedures too cumbersome, it is still more crucial to ensure that the inner barriers to violence and aggression are strongly in place. This is a cultural matter, a matter of how people bring up their children, a matter of the messages that get passed from the community to the parents and thence to the children. The object is both to transmit the necessary prohibitions against aggression to each individual and to win each individual's inner, positive assent to the social endeavor.



"Let's assure our customers that we will continue to manufacture the same product that they have known and foolishly trusted for years."

Paradoxically, the hardest of hard realities—whether people commit crimes or not—comes down to a very large extent to nothing more than values and beliefs in the world within the individual. Do we deeply believe "thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal" so deeply that these injunctions are a constituent part of our deepest selves? Do we believe in an idea of justice that embraces us and our community? Do we value such qualities as honor, duty, mercy, honesty, kindness?

It's no wonder that, at the dawn of political philosophy, Plato should have been obsessed with the myths and fairy tales told to children. He well knew that these emanations of culture are the carriers of values, the molders of character, and that no republic can thrive where they are askew.

When crime flourishes as it now does in our cities, especially crime of mindless malice, it isn't because society has so oppressed people as to bend them out of their true nature and twist them into moral deformity. It is instead because the criminals haven't been adequately socialized. Examine the contents of their minds and hearts and what you find is free-floating aggression, weak consciences, anarchic beliefs, detachment from the community and its highest values. They haven't attained the self-respect or the coherent sense of self that underlies one's ability to respect others.

This is a predictable result of unimaginably weak families, headed by immature, irresponsible girls, who are at the margin of the community, pathological in their own behavior, and too often lacking the knowledge, interest, and inner resources to be successful molders of strong characters in children. Too many underclass mothers can't enforce the necessary prohibitions for children—or for themselves. And most underclass families lack a father, a vital agent of socialization.

When the community tells such families that they are victims of social injustice, that they perhaps are not personally to blame if they commit crimes, and that it is entirely appropriate for them to nurse feelings of rage and resentment, it is asking for trouble. Worse, today's American culture holds that, in a sense, such crime isn't pathological; it is rebellion—the manly response that Americans have shown to oppression since the Boston Tea Party.

The idea that criminals might be admirable rebels was all but explicit in the 1950s and 1960s sociological orthodoxy that saw juvenile delinquency as a rational challenge to a society that denied to delinquents the same opportunity to get ahead as their non-impoverished fellow citizens enjoyed. By his law-breaking, the delinquent could win those goods that he desired as much as any other member of society. At the very least he could manifest the worth that society was denying him by demonstrating his "heart" and "guts."

But you could hardly articulate the idea of the criminal as rebel more explicitly or forcefully than Norman Mailer did in his incendiary 1957

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manifesto, *The White Negro,* which indicted modern society as nothing but an engine of oppression, repression, and destruction. In this man-made wasteland, blacks inhabit the deepest circle of oppression and victimization. They have "been living on the margin between totalitarianism and democracy for two centries," wrote Mailer. In the injustice of the capitalist order, they are Marx's impoverished industrial reserve army, "a cultureless and alienated bottom of exploitable human material."

Given not just the economic violence but also the visceral hatred that assaults blacks, what is there to do but reject and oppose such deadly oppression? "The only life-giving answer," said Mailer, "is . . . to divorce oneself from society, to exist without roots, to set out on that uncharted journey with the rebellious imperatives of the self. . . . [W]hether the life is criminal or not, the decision is to encourage the psychopath in oneself." Rebel, rebel—even if lawless rebellion leads to such psychopathic extremes as murder. Even in such rebellion, according to Mailer's Americanized version of European existentialism, you will at least assert your freedom and selfhood.

So We Reaped

MONSTROUS, but influential. Not that the majority of mainstream Americans wholeheartedly embraced Mailer's view that violent black crime was a kind of regenerative rebellion. Rather, they flirted with it; they were prepared to believe that in some, even many, cases it might be true—and so crime became problematical, no longer simply crime, no longer compelling unqualified condemnation.

Well-known black writers embraced this idea fervently. Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver declared that the most heinous crime could be political activism. This declaration went only one step beyond the ideology of Cleaver's black-power group, which had already wedded politics and violence by espousing the idea of armed black rebellion against oppressive American society. In *Soul on Ice*—a best-seller in the Sixties and still taught in some college courses—Cleaver argued that it was a political act for a black man to rape a white woman, protesting against his oppression and striking out against his oppressor.

A similar vision accounts for some of the disturbing lyrics of today's rap music. In a much more domesticated version, it is the animating vision of such blockbuster films as *Superfly* of 1972 or *Harlem Nights* of 1989—movies in which black filmmakers at the center of the larger culture celebrate black heroes who are smarter, quicker, and tougher criminals than the white criminals who are their adversaries. Why are the heroes lawbreakers? "I know it's a rotten game," explains the sidekick of *Superfly*'s dope-dealer hero, "but it's the only one the Man left us to play." The alternative is "workin' some jive job for chump change day after day."

Such a view of the admirably defiant criminal still holds the underclass in thrall. "They want us to settle for a little piece of nothing, like the Indians on the reservation," as one inner-city resident who grew up in a Harlem housing project recently summed up his vision of the larger society. "They got us fighting and killing each other for crumbs. In a way, the ones in jail are like political prisoners, because they refused to settle for less."

The erosion of the inner barriers to crime and disorder has devastated the lives of the Have-Nots. More than any economic change of the sort William Julius Wilson describes in *The Truly Disadvantaged*, it is the explosion of violent crime that has turned inner cities into blighted wastelands, virtual free-fire zones. Repeated holdups and street robberies of employees drove out small tradesmen and larger businesses alike. Crime made fear ever-present for hard-working, law-abiding ghetto citizens.

The almost daily reports of gunfire crackling outside the projects, of people cowering on the floor of their apartments, of innocent passersby getting caught in the crossfire, become numbing by their very familiarity. A young black man has a greater chance of being murdered in the inner city than a soldier had of being killed in the jungles of Vietnam. It is true that you can send your kid to the grocery store and never see him again alive. It is true that an East New York high school, in a painfully ghoulish accommodation to anarchy, recently established a "Grieving Room," where students gather to mourn slain classmates. In the last four years, seventy

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have been shot or stabbed, half of them fatally.

Quoted in a recent newspaper article reporting that two innocent bystanders in the New York ghettoes had been killed and five more wounded in the last 48 hours, the mother of one of the wounded says: "I work ten hours a day. . . . In the morning, I have to leave before my kids do. All I can do is say a prayer, that's about it. Because you never know if you're going to come back alive, and you come home and they're going to be alive. You'll be in your house and people will be shooting through your damn window. You stick your head out your window, somebody blows your brains out."

The achievements of civilization rest upon the social order, which rests in turn upon a mutual agreement to foreswear aggression. In the ghetto, the agreement is in tatters, and the life of the civilized community is being stomped out by force and violence. In cities in which civilization should have reached its apogee, gang-ridden ghetto areas have regressed to some Dark Age when human life was organized around predatory, roving bands with continually shifting memberships. It is as if the peaceful citizens of those neighborhoods really were under the cruel yoke of the banditti of ruffians that Thomas Paine imagined as introducing violence and crime into the early ages of the world. After a 9-year-old girl in a Brooklyn ghetto had just been shot in the head by a thug's stray bullet, a neighbor—a law-abiding family man living across the street from a crack house—lamented: "Our lives have been reduced to the lowest levels of human existence." In such an anarchy, it's a wonder not when people fail to achieve all the civilized excellences but when they succeed. □

'Change' Watch

PUBLIC WORKS WON'T WORK

When the President says 'infrastructure,' it's Slick Willie talking.

ALAN REYNOLDS

"INFRASTRUCTURE" is fast becoming the most fashionable cliché of the year. The word has a majestic quality, sounding more prudent than "public works" and more thoughtful than "pork barrel." But new words for old ideas don't really change the reality.

President Clinton's campaign plan counted on faster economic growth to slash $65 billion from the 1996 budget—three times as much as he hoped to extract from higher income taxes. But why was the economy assumed to grow faster? The main answer was the alleged "stimulus" of more infrastructure spending—a "Rebuild America Fund" to dole out an extra $20 billion a year at the federal level, "leveraged" with another $30 billion from states and cities.

This quaint New Deal theme of spending ourselves into prosperity appears to have been revived by economist David Aschauer of Bates College. He claimed that government investment in roads, sewers, and the like gave an enormous boost to productivity in the private sector. But nearly every economist not employed by the construction industry has concluded that Aschauer is all wet. The list of prominent non-believers includes the Congressional Budget Office, the OECD, Henry Aaron of the Brookings Institution, Robert Barro of Harvard, and John Tatom of the St. Louis Fed.

Alicia Munnell of the Boston Fed is a rare exception, sympathetic to the infrastructure crusade, which is presumably why she was invited to the Little Rock conference during the Clinton transition. Yet even Mrs. Munnell recently conceded, in *Economic Perspectives*, that the estimates of big economy-wide gains from public investment "are not credible." For one thing, those who figured that infrastructure made economies grow faster had the cause and effect backwards. Booming state or national economies have more need for infrastructure and more ability to pay for it, while those with stagnant economies and related budget problems find capital spending the easiest thing to postpone. This just means economic growth provides financing and demand for infrastructure, not that infrastructure "causes" economic growth. A study for the National Bureau of Economic Research that corrects for such backward causality, by Douglas Holtz-Eakin of Syracuse University, finds no link at all between public investment and private output.

Another National Bureau paper, by Eric Engen and Jonathan Skinner, surveyed ten recent studies which found that increased government spending or taxes permanently shrink an economy's economic growth. In Enger and Skinner's own research, covering 107 countries over 15 years, "a 10-percentage-point tax increase is predicted to reduce output growth by 3.2 percentage points per annum." If Clinton wants "fiscal stimulus," he should cut taxes and spending, not raise them.

When asked to explain how government investment could translate into more private output, the usual story is that smooth highways cut transportation time. But "filling potholes" is maintenance, not investment, and Congress just passed a $151-billion bill for new highways. If road speed is so important, wouldn't we get more bang for the buck by letting the states set realistic speed limits?

West German taxpayers are spending a fortune on East German infrastructure, but that has scarcely "jump started" that economy. Nor have Japan's big public-works schemes pre-

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vented that country's industrial output from falling 8 per cent over the past year. In any case, it is simply absurd to compare government investment between the United States and other countries, as the infrastructure lobby does. Fortunately, the private sector in the U.S. takes care of much of the investment that is left on the taxpayers' backs in many other countries, where governments mismanage national telephone companies, airlines, universities, hospitals, and even half-nationalized auto and steel companies.

There are no solid figures on how much U.S. governments invest, because it depends on how you define investment. The usual figures count bureaucrats' desks as investment, but textbooks and college degrees as consumption. One magazine says we spend only 0.5 per cent of GDP on infrastructure; another says 1.3 per cent. The first number either ignores state and local government or is pure fiction, while the second figure counts only public construction, ignoring such equipment as police cars and FBI computers. That "bricks and mortar" definition is particularly misleading, since space-saving equipment has reduced the need for costly buildings (e.g., to house yesterday's huge computers, or to store paper files rather than microfilm).

If we exclude military capital, total government spending on structures and durable goods amounted to $16 billion at the federal level in 1991, plus $123 billion at state and local levels—a total of 2.5 per cent of GDP. The fact that Washington accounts for only 12 per cent of public investment is not the result of frugality in the Reagan–Bush years. Real federal outlays for non-defense capital rose by 78 per cent from 1980 to 1993, according to the 1993 budget, though grants to the states were flat. True, the Federal Government is not spending as large a percentage of GDP on capital as in 1957–65, when the interstate highway system was built. But we don't need another forty-thousand-mile highway system.

The nature of federal politics guarantees that the loveliest of federal infrastructure plans will always turn to rancid pork. If Pittsburgh asks for more federal money to fix its bridges and canals, congressmen from districts where there are no rivers will naturally ask for some *quid pro quo*. This leads to logrolling, where congressmen agree to support ridiculous boondoggles in other districts if those legislators will support theirs. Incumbents then brag about how much federal loot they brought home.

If infrastructure came from the tooth fairy, it might provide a few jobs. But construction workers won't work for nothing, and cement, steel, and lumber are not free. Taxpayers get stuck with the bill for federal pork, no matter how fancy a name we put on it. And those taxes permanently destroy far more private jobs than any temporary, capital-intensive "infrastructure" projects could ever create. □

Lessons from Lincoln

ABORTION & THE GOP

If the GOP is Lincoln's party, maybe it should use his tactics.

WILLIAM McGURN

IN his first 48 hours in the Oval Office, Bill Clinton proved he hadn't forsaken all his campaign vows. Although the middle class will never take delivery on a tax cut, escaping Haitians will continue to find no room at the U.S. inn, and the deficit, far from being halved, will doubtless continue to spiral, at least one element of the Clinton coalition has every reason to be happy: the pro-choice movement. Among Bill Clinton's first acts as President was the signing of memoranda rescinding the Bush Administration's ban on federal funding for fetal-tissue research, the ban on abortion-counseling at federally funded clinics, and the ban on abortions at military hospitals. Each of these restrictions had represented hard-won victories by embattled Republicans. Yet they were reversed with a scratch of the pen.

Worse is yet to come. A generation after *Roe* v. *Wade* threw out the laws of all fifty states to usher in abortion on demand, prospects of a reversal have receded dramatically. Although President Clinton's judicial nominations will doubtless make reversal more unlikely, he cannot take all the blame. Twelve years of Republican appointees have failed to produce a Court willing to dislodge *Roe*; indeed, it was a Nixon appointee, Harry Blackmun, who wrote the majority opinion in the landmark 1973 case. Pro-lifers have been further discon-

Mr. McGurn, formerly NR's *Washington bureau chief, is now a senior editor of the* Far Eastern Economic Review.

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certed by statements from the outgoing chairman of the Republican National Committee, Rich Bond, blaming them for Bush's defeat, and even from the new chairman, Haley Barbour, who vows to place abortion on the back burner. Of more immediate concern, the new Congress appears to be decidedly more pro-choice than the last, and Representative Don Edwards (D., Calif.) has already reintroduced his Freedom of Choice Act, which appears to have the necessary votes to pass. Pro-choicers are sitting pretty and know it. Perhaps that explains why there were few counter-demonstrations at this year's right-to-life march on Washington.

Sooner or later, of course, President Clinton's decision to compensate the left wing of his party for his compromises on foreign and economic affairs by granting them carte blanche on the social agenda will take its political toll, especially as it becomes clear to Reagan Democrats who deserted President Bush that abortion is just the thin edge of a wedge of social issues from gay rights to banning school prayer. Doubtless Mr. Clinton will find himself on the defensive for this come 1996. As congressional reaction to the Clinton bid to lift the ban on overt homosexuals in the military demonstrates, even Democratic congressmen understand that though they enjoy a political majority they remain in the popular minority on these issues. (And that the best way to get what they want is to work through the back door of the courts.)

Republican Muddle

WHATEVER the potential troubles for Democrats tomorrow, Republicans face theirs today. The Democratic leaders at least know what they stand for on all these issues; what they have to worry about is how they get there. Republicans remain confused about both. The most obvious manifestation of this confusion is the party's commitment to a constitutional amendment to outlaw all abortions. Such an amendment is supported by at most a quarter of the public, but it seemed in the last campaign that no one in the Bush White House supported it. Republicans who resisted changes in that position in the run-up to last year's convention were nonetheless right, for a number of reasons, not the least of which had to do with the real political agenda behind such proposals.

Today, however, it is time for the GOP to make a change. But not just any old change. Taking into account the dramatic shifts in America's political, constitutional, and, yes, moral landscape, Republicans need to shift their position from support for a constitutional amendment outlawing all abortions to support for one asserting the constitutional prerogative of states in restricting abortion. The purpose of the shift would not be to water down the party's moral position but to strengthen its political one. And the reasons for it are simple, direct, and conservative: not only is a constitutional ban on abortion impossible, the Republican commitment to one now operates to disguise the intolerance of the abortion-rights community and to uphold a status quo that has brought us 29 million abortions since 1973.

Already I hear the groans offstage. Any change in language, the argument goes, would be taken as a retreat; certainly that is the way it will be portrayed by a press whose more candid members concede that abortion is the one area where even the pretense of fairness goes out the window. A change in language, moreover, would dilute the moral clarity of the existing position. It would split the pro-life movement. It would be portrayed as an abdication of responsibility. And so forth.

Each of these arguments has some legitimacy, and of course much would depend on the choice of language. But they are not ultimately persuasive, because the organization in question is not a church or a pro-life group but a political party. Precisely here the art of the possible must intrude. A constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortion has always been a fiction. Although most Americans are firmly against abortion on demand (the *Boston Globe*'s own headline on its poll was "Most in U.S. favor ban on majority of abortions"), most do not want abortion completely proscribed. This means that continuing to hold out for a constitutional amendment essentially guarantees there will be no restrictions at all. Indeed, despite the grave warnings of all those who darkly prophesied that the confirmation of Clarence Thomas would mean a return to back-alleys, America continues to boast, if that is the right word, the most liberal abortion laws in the world.

This is not to say that fictions do not have their place. As with Taiwan's continued claim to be the legitimate government of all China, fictions often serve political purposes. Initial calls for a constitutional amendment in the wake of the Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe* v. *Wade* decision helped galvanize the pro-life movement around a clear, fixed goal. Today that fiction is no longer convenient. Indeed, it is a hindrance to progress on the abortion front because it overlooks areas where pro-lifers can win and it lends cheap credibility to the press caricature of an inflexible Republican Party in thrall to religious bigots. And it completely overlooks the constitutional arrangements and dispositions that ought to be the greatest source of pro-life political strength.

That strength lies in a principled opposition to the *Roe* v. *Wade* decision, which opposition would include many Americans who are otherwise pro-choice. Pro-lifers are fond of pointing to the parallels between abortion and slavery; these parallels are perhaps stronger than they know. In his 1858 debates with Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, a founder of the new Republican Party, made clear both his disgust for slavery and his distance from those abolitionists who thought their moral claim absolved them from a respect for process. "I will add this," said Lincoln in his sixth debate,

> if there be any man who does not believe that slavery is wrong in the three aspects which I have mentioned, or in any one of them, that man is misplaced, and ought to leave us. While, on the other hand, if there be any man in the Republican Party who is impatient over the necessity springing from its actual presence, and is impatient of the constitutional guarantees thrown around it, and would act in disregard of these, he too is misplaced standing with us. He will find his place someplace else; for we have a due regard, so far as we are capable of understanding them, for all these things. This, gentlemen, as well as I can give it, is a plain statement of our principles in all their enormity.

Certainly Lincoln himself danced on the precipice between moral conviction and political expediency. What sets him apart from other politicians, and

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what makes him a lesson for today, is how he managed to make his politicking serve his convictions.

Today, the pro-choice assumption is that the least restriction on abortion is wrong. A Republican Party that challenged that presumption would enjoy several notable advantages. Not least, the position of denying that all restrictions are wrong is one that can be defended by that majority of Americans who consider abortion an evil but nonetheless believe there are circumstances where abortion is the lesser of evils.

My position ought not to be confused with the so-called Big Tent position. The Big Tent proponents would purge the GOP not only of its political call for a constitutional amendment but of its moral content, whereas I would simply re-orient the political commitment to a more practical end. The Big Tent is not big enough for those who approve of abortion and yet it is far too large for the stronger constituency of Republicans who disapprove of abortion; it makes no commitment to any position and confuses a fuzzy moral language with a solid political position. The first man to pitch the Big Tent was Judge Douglas in his successful Senate race against Lincoln, where he argued not for slavery per se but for the right of every (white) man to make up his own mind about it.

Firm Platform

TO BE SURE, party platforms do not usually have such importance, and there are any number of Republican Party members who would argue that changing the language on abortion would simply not be worth it, because it gives too much attention to something of little importance. President Clinton proves every day how little his own platform means to him. But abortion is different, if only for the unfair reason that a hostile press keeps it in the news and clubs Republican candidates over the head with it. Now, it's true that Ronald Reagan won two landslide elections with this plank. But Ronald Reagan was more persuasive than most politicians. More to the point, the public did not then believe, as they are led to believe today, that the "fundamental right to an abortion" was under threat. That has changed with the Supreme Court's decisions, *Webster* v. *Reproductive Health Services* in 1989 and *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey* in 1992, that chipped away at *Roe*.

Together with the Bush people's own obvious disagreement with their President's position on abortion and a press more than willing to capitalize on it, this changed judicial landscape helped open the door to last year's bitter platform fight. The party was, as I say, right to resist the change urged upon it, both because it would have been seen, against Bush's background, as yet another cave-in and because those doing the urging were friends of neither George Bush nor the Republican Party. Among the press and Beltway philosophes, they were the selfsame people who incessantly urged upon the President the importance of putting aside his "no new taxes" pledge for a deal with Congress and then called him a liar over and over for having followed this advice.

"Does anybody here know anything about people?"

As it turned out, the pro-lifers handily won all the votes at the Convention. Still, the election was lost, and however unfair the portrayal of Houston as "hate-filled" (compared to the Democratic Party Convention, where people handed out buttons of Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey dressed in papal robes?), the GOP's opponents successfully conveyed the image of a party bent on eliminating abortion entirely and unleashing Pat Robertson as part of a *jihad* of intolerance.

How can this be in a country that twice elected the even more conservative Ronald Reagan just a few years earlier? It can be because American thinking on abortion remains muddled. It remains muddled because, as Mark Cunningham argued in a sterling article in these pages, if Americans are not forced to think about abortion, they won't. Hence the contradictions at work in Gallup and Harris polls showing, respectively, 77 per cent of Americans regarding abortion as some form of murder and 73 per cent who nonetheless believe the practice ought to be legal.

'Out There'

ALAS, the preference for a federal "solution" unwittingly worsens the impasse. So long as the issue is decided "out there" in Washington, Americans can avoid addressing the issue. Were it returned to the states, however, Americans and their representatives would have to face up to abortion, to decide how much they are going to tolerate in their own backyards, to work to draw the line. This, of course, is messy and difficult, but chaining the GOP to a constitutional amendment means that Republican candidates at all levels who are not completely comfortable with the party plank—or are not ready for the pro-choice onslaught—will end up looking embarrassed and contradictory. But a Republican Party that argued forcefully that abortion was wrong and that states had the right to restrict the practice (even Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy, and David Souter recognized a "compelling interest" in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey*) would again be on the offensive—the obvious strategy, moreover, now that we are faced with a Freedom of Choice Act.

Perhaps the most compelling virtue of a correct constitutional position on abortion is that it would finally highlight the pro-choice movement's complete inflexibility. As governor, Bill Clinton supported parental notification, but as the Democratic presidential candidate he embraced the Freedom of Choice Act, which would prohibit any state restrictions whatsoever, going even further than *Roe*. Ditto with Al Gore, who made pro-life noises early in his Senate career. Although no Democrat will admit being for abortion on demand, that is precisely the position they are forced to take—witness the whacking Dianne

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Feinstein took from her own side when, in her bid to be governor of California, she attempted to soften her image by coming out against abortion for reasons of sex selection. So long as Republicans talk about outlawing abortion completely, they allow these Democrats to avoid the questions about their own, far more radical platform: not simply abortion on demand, but abortion on demand at taxpayer expense.

The Party of Lincoln

THERE are other, nonpolitical reasons for shifting the focus of the Republican Party away from a constitutional amendment banning abortion. Over the last three decades it has been the Left that has elevated ends over means and the idea of forcing "consensus" through whatever means possible, primarily the courts. But we pro-lifers have been guilty as well, demanding that Republican congressmen, senators, and Presidents offer the kind of moral leadership and responsibility in this area that mothers, fathers, teachers, and even priests, ministers, rabbis, and bishops are not demonstrating: by making the moral case against abortion. It is no wonder politicians have failed to fulfill this expectation. They are, after all, our representatives, which makes them as much the product of our culture as we are.

That culture is controlled by images and language, and the pro-choice side has been exceedingly clever in couching their position in positive abstractions such as "choice," "rights," and so forth. In a speech in Connecticut in 1860, Lincoln punctured the personally-opposed-but line of argument by moving to specifics:

> Let us apply a few tests. You say that you think slavery is wrong, but you denounce all attempts to restrain it. Is there anything else that you think wrong, that you are not willing to deal with as a wrong? Why are you so careful, so tender of this one wrong and no other? You will not let us do a single thing as if it were wrong; there is no place where you will allow it to be even wrong; there is no place where you will allow it even to be *called* wrong! [W]e must not call it wrong in politics because that is bringing religion into politics; we must not call it wrong in the pulpit because that is bring politics into religion . . . and there is no single place, according to you, where this wrong thing can be properly called wrong!

Substitute the word "abortion" for slavery and the argument takes on an eerie relevance. Lincoln knew that the public hadn't entirely thought things out on the question of slavery, and he understood the need to proceed cautiously. He knew that the way to expose his opponents was not to advance an impossibly pure political position but to pin his opponents down on specifics. The same goes for abortion. The one question all Democrats fear to answer is one they are never asked: name just one out of 1.7 million abortions per year you would like to see restricted. A 13-year-old girl who does not have her parents' consent? A couple aborting for the third time because they would rather have a boy than the girls they have been conceiving? A woman who has deliberately gotten pregnant just to sell the fetus for research?

This is the debate Republicans need to join, and we need to join it by moving from our own abstraction of a constitutional amendment to the very real kinds of restrictions that are arising in the states. In moral terms we feel there is something incomplete and deficient about any states-based "solution" to an issue as serious as abortion. But that is because Washington has come to regard itself, and we have become accustomed to seeing it, as the arbiter of right and wrong, as opposed to the necessary mechanism by which we might all live together in relative peace if not absolute harmony.

In this light a Republican initiative to return the abortion controversy to the states, even if successful, ought not to be conceived of as an end in itself. It is, rather, a recognition of two vital points. First: in a democracy of, by, and for the people, means are no less important than ends in how we order ourselves. Second: if we are ever to enjoy any kind of ultimate consensus, it must work its way from the people up rather than be imposed from the top down. The Republican Party has it within its means at this moment—especially in the face of a proposed Freedom of Choice Act—to retain its moral disapproval of abortion, while adding a constitutional division of authority that would bring about a more honest debate and, undoubtedly, fewer abortions. Failure to do so today may mean the loss of all tomorrow. □

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

Dear Rusty:

Well, here I am. My first official act as Vice President is to write my cherished friend Rusty a long overdue letter. I thought of you often while on the campaign trail, and once or twice during campaign stops, time permitting, I shared with the crowd some of the experiences I had while visiting you and the other researchers down in Brazil. And boy, when I got to those relative-deforestation-vs-replanting-to-avoid-topsoil-erosion-figures, let me tell you, that cheering, screaming crowd of well-wishers got pretty darn quiet and reflective.

Do you remember that night during my last visit, as we sat along the banks of the Rio Kuluene and I told you that my secret goal was to live aboard a space station high above The Earth, trying to heal the ozone layer from the outside? Do you remember what you said to me? You looked me in the eye and you said, "Senator" (I was still Senator then!), "I think you'll probably have more effect if you stayed here on The Earth." And then you told me that I was sitting in a patch of grass the Yanonami Indians call "the grass of a thousand burning needles."

Well, you were right. I can have more effect here on The Earth, especially in my capacity as Vice President. But let me be very honest and tell you, strictly between us, that I'm a little worried about the future of Bill's and my Administration. First we had a problem with getting an attorney general. The first nominee had hired a couple from Peru illegally. Boy, did that turn into a big deal. The first thing I did was call Dad and ask about the status of Consuela and Esperanza, and he assured me that they were "as legal as two people from Mexico can be," which put my mind at ease.

So there we were in the Oval Office—me, Bill, Warren Christopher, Lloyd Cutler with a big binder of women's names, and Hillary on the speakerphone (she was driving back from a meeting with Les Aspin and Colin Powell) and I kept thinking, "This is it, this is the first big test." As we flipped through Lloyd's scrapbook rejecting people, the perfect candidate occurred to me: Tipper! The minute I mentioned it, the meeting came to a halt. Hillary started coughing or something, and Bill stared thoughtfully ahead, biting his bottom lip as he does. Then Hillary said that she was planning to offer Tipper a spot on her health-care crisis team, so I backed down. But for a minute there, Rusty, Tipper and I almost became Washington's Power Couple!

The crisis resolved itself satisfactorily. We nominated a terrific prosecutor from Miami, who—are you sitting down?—lives out on the Everglades, part of America's Endangered Wetlands! I think I've sent a message to the press with this one: I am a Vice President with influence.

At first I was a little worried about my influence in the Administration. Inauguration Day, one of the Marines introduced Bill and Hillary as "the President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, and the Vice President . . ." and then he caught himself, and quickly said, ". . . and the First Lady, Hillary Clinton." She nudged him angrily, and to tell you the truth, I felt sorry for the guy. It was just a simple slip up. But she whispered something in his ear, and he piped up again: " . . . and the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton." I thought the whole thing was pretty funny, but I was up till three in the morning trying to show Tipper the humor of it all. She can be a little paranoid. We had a few blow-ups along the campaign trial. When Bill offered to show our girls how to play a few essential chords on the saxophone, Tipper pulled Stephanopoulous aside and demanded a separate campaign bus.

During the budget-deficit crisis, I've tried to serve as a quiet, disinterested counselor to Bill, a sounding board, if you will. One Sunday afternoon, we were all up at Camp David working on the economic plan; I knew Bill was feeling low. Stan Greenberg, his pollster, had come in with the news that no President had ever had a lower approval rating at this point in his Administration. The talk shows had been filled with discussions of his mistakes —nothing about our accomplishments, of course—and he clearly needed a boost. "Bill," I said, "let's you and me go for a run and clear our heads. What about it?" Just as he was about to put on his jogging shoes, Hillary walked in with about a dozen pizzas and said, "I thought if we work through dinner, we could finish trimming 30 per cent from the NASA budget." Bill sat down in front of a spreadsheet and a pizza and went to work.

I stuck around for the rest of the session. Hillary kept wanting to cut funding for the space station, I had given my word to some former colleagues on the Hill that it was untouchable. So we went back and forth about it until finally she turned to me and said, "If we fund it and build it, will you go live in it?"

How did she know?

Take care, Rusty. Give Ya'nammeole a hug for me.

Best, Al

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The Limits of Reconstruction

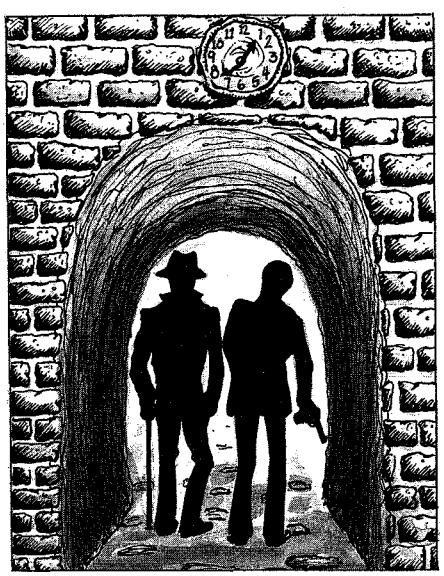
AMITAI ETZIONI

I DO windows but I do not review anthologies. They tend to be disparate collections of disjointed thoughts. However, *The Loss of Virtue*, a collection of 15 short essays, with an introduction by Digby Anderson, the English social critic and columnist for NATIONAL REVIEW, and a foreword by John O'Sullivan, the editor of *NR*, is different. Together, they provide a cogent, secular, social conservative analysis of our time and advance suggestions for an era of reconstruction. I chose my words carefully: "secular, social conservative," not religious nor simply conservative. For decades intellectuals have been following the popular tradition of dichotomizing thought, without allowing for gradations or variants, by relying on the simplistic opposition of "liberal" versus "conservative." The descriptive power of this pair of terms, which was always rather limited, has been further diminished by the new vigor of conservative thinking in the last two decades.

This volume makes a clear distinction between laissez-faire conservatives and the social kind (although these terms are not employed). The book argues that while capitalism may well be highly successful, it does not attend to the important moral, social realm, the one that defines and fosters virtues, which are the foundation of a good society.

The Loss of Virtue: Moral Confusion and Social Disorder in Britain and America, edited by Digby Anderson (National Review Books, 258 pp., $19.95)

As its title indicates, the volume speaks of the decline of old virtues such as character (or self-government), diligence, respect for authority, fidelity, and honesty. As replacements for the old virtues, *The Loss of Virtue* argues we have on the one hand a "new morality," and on the other a troubling lack of cultural consensus. Several authors speak of a "new morality" which has, they argue, at best a dubious standing. This morality mints new rights but skirts the concept of duty; and it celebrates hedonism, egalitarianism, and subjectivism in the name of self-actualization. Other essays focus on the lack of consensus about the definition of the "good" facing our age, and the resulting moral anarchy and relativism. Moreover, our cultural dissensus is said to prevent us from even supporting those minimum virtues upon which a democratic order must rely.



Michael Sporles

Various essays focus on specific aspects of this general problem. One of the best, which appeared originally in *NR*, laments the loss of tolerance and its replacement by neutrality. Tolerance, John Gray writes, presumes a set of values. But it recognizes the imperfectibility of human beings and hence treats with understanding those who struggle to do what is right but do not quite make it—at one point or another, all of us. Neutrality, which Gray believes has replaced tolerance, is the standard of those who argue, as leading liberals do, that defining a societal good or virtue is incompatible with a truly democratic society. For them, once you define a virtue all those who do not subscribe to it are treated as inferior, which is but one step toward moral and legal support for discrimination, if not persecution. Hence, to treat all values and "lifestyle options" as if they have the same moral standing (or none) is the call of liberals like Bruce Ackerman, whom Gray correctly decries for ultimately cultivating a social ethic of intolerance as communities become indifferent to the cultural values that nurture tolerance in the first place.

A number of essays, by Richard Lynn and Robert Grant (regarding the family), and Antony O'Hear and Dennis O'Keeffe (on schools), deal with the importance of proper education, of character formation, for a society that has sound moral foundations. Values must be "internalized": that is, become part of the self rather than external demands that members of society heed because they fear punishments or seek rewards. This is essential, for if values remain external, whenever incentives fail or authorities slacken, moral behavior will drop off. Because there will never be enough pay-offs and guardians to ensure that a society is civil, most virtuous behavior must take place because the population has truly accepted the values transmitted to them as theirs. Self-discipline, not discipline, is the mark of a moral, well-brought-up youngster.

The merits of the book are especially noteworthy in view of the fact that all its 15 authors are British and many of the examples they cite are from recent British history or experience. (No hint or explanation is given for the exclusion of all other authors, especially as the subtitle of the book refers to "moral confusion and social disorder in Britain and America.") But never mind: the points made apply to the U.S. as much as they would had the authors written from the banks of the Charles, the Hudson, and the Potomac.

Mr. Etzioni is author of the forthcoming The Spirit of Community *(Crown) and editor of the quarterly,* The Responsive Community: Rights and Responsibilities.

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Another remarkable feature of these essays is that they are to the point: they are rather short and free of the technical jargon professional ethicists and social scientists like to employ, the use of footnotes is minimized, and statistics are by and large avoided. (I did miss, though, an index.)

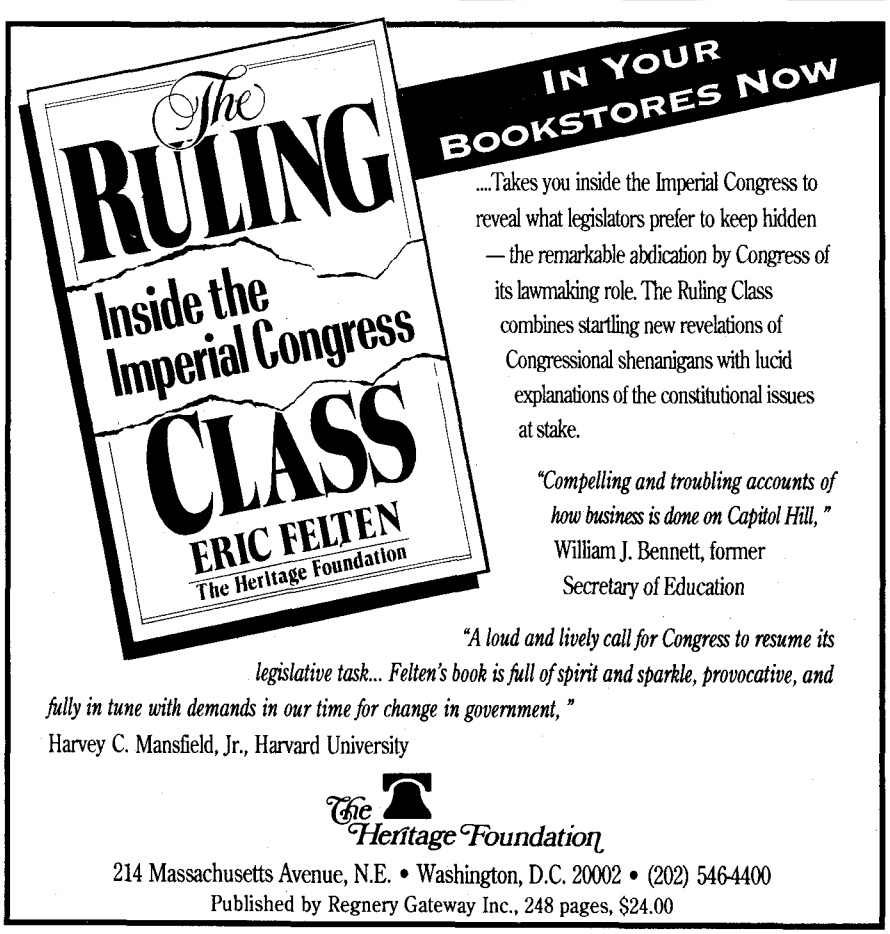
So far so good. The first serious flaw is the omission of a serious engagement with religion and spirituality—a mistake more typically found among the "new morality" boys and girls than among the sages of the old one. At one point in the foreword O'Sullivan states that the old morality was religious and the new one, such as it is, is secular. Antony Flew also addresses the way main-line churches have retreated from the traditional insistence on responsibility and hard work. But none of the authors discusses the question of whether the moral revival they seek requires a recommitment to religion (and if yes, which and how); or whether it just happens that the old virtues were secured by God and His Word, while now faith can rely on what is properly called secular humanism. Can Kant and Buber substitute for Christ and Moses?

Even more problematic is that the volume glorifies the past and tradition without confronting their serious failings; indeed, on occasion *The Loss of Virtue* seems to embrace those failings. As I see it, the old regime (say, the U.S. circa 1950) was frantically anti-Communist, highly discriminatory against minorities, unfair to women, and a bit authoritarian. The authors never say explicitly that they would again disallow women from owning property, revoke the Civil Rights Act, or restore not merely respect for authority but authoritarianism—as practiced by many of our labor leaders, priests, and physicians in the 1950s. But they do not face up to the fact that the good old days had their own far from trivial moral defects. They do not try to sort out which elements of the past lacked virtue. At a deeper level, they do not ask if there was any connection between the society of duty, character, and fidelity and these historical vices, and if there was, how can the connection be severed, or are we required to buy these societal evils as a necessary ticket for the trip to a virtuous society? Could it be that what much of the new generation views as serious defects are not failings in the eyes of social conservatives?

It is mainly on this issue that the social conservatives and the communitarians, for which I speak here, differ. Both see the danger of a virtueless society; both recognize the urgent need to improve the moral, social, and political environment. However, communitarians do not seek to turn back the clock, to "return to the Gods of the Copybook Headings" (whatever that means), as the volume in front of us puts it.

Communitarians seek to work out a new synthesis between tradition and a recognition of those legitimate rights the new age has introduced which are dismissed on a wholesale basis by some social conservatives. Thus, instead of a simple return to family, communitarians favor a return to a family in which both parents have equal rights and equal responsibilities. I, of course, recognize that there are biological differences between mothers and fathers and that it may be appropriate to prescribe different social roles in parenting. Nevertheless, parenting is not a task suitable exclusively for mothers, but one in which fathers very much need to partake (as Patricia Morgan's exceptional essay rightly suggests), and women should have the same basic rights as men to work outside the household. One may disagree with this approach but one cannot ignore the issue: on what moral basis can one call for a return to a society in which women were treated as second-class citizens?

Nor does a 21-gun salute to authority quite take care of the matter. If new affirmations of virtue are to be agreed upon and established, they cannot be imposed. They must arise out of an open give-and-take, a town-meeting style democracy, extending from the political to the social and moral (in other words, a multilogue taking place at the office water-cooler, the local PTA, and the neighborhood church or synagogue). We must consider how we can achieve renewed commitment to values we share, in a process that will be as—let's say the word—egalitarian as possible. (I do not mean to suggest that every community consensus is ethical; a community may decide to practice racial discrimination. But communities—and all their members—should have the ultimate say as long as they abide by a limited set of overarching values.)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Social conservatives who want to make the process of fostering values the responsibility of a virtuous elite may try to make the case for this approach but cannot disregard the task of explaining how the new or renewed commitment to values is to arise.

Last but not least is the question of rights and responsibilities. I deeply agree with the argument that the manufacture of new rights has gotten out of hand to the point where, as when a currency is inflated, their value is diminished and sometimes trivialized. We can all trade horror stories about people suing Macy's for the right to play Santa Claus and environmentalists who suggest that sand has a "natural" right to lie on the beach undisturbed by developers. But this is too easy. The tough questions are: should we curtail the new rights and return to a short list of basic ones? If yes, what is to be excluded from the shortened list of rights? And on what grounds is one going to deny many of the new rights—those that are not preposterous on the face of it? I would argue that the nobler path points to shoring up responsibilities, and asking all those who claim new rights (say, to health care) to match them with new responsibilities (for giving or paying for health care). In an essay on national service in this volume, Chris Dandeker makes this point, noting that the problem with the new rights is that they have not been accompanied by new obligations.

At whatever conclusions one arrives on these crucial issues, read this book and pass it on to others. *The Loss of Virtue* provides a fine basis for a moral assessment of our time, both in what it addresses and in that which it implies remains to be addressed. □

All in the Family

WILLIAM TUCKER

The Subversive Family is a startling book that promises a revolution in thought about our most basic human institution—although it doesn't quite deliver.

Ferdinand Mount, editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* and a former *NR* staffer, does for the family what Ayn Rand did for ordinary business activity. He defends something that comes perfectly naturally to ordinary people but has long been subject to elitist attack of a type that seems to have no intellectual justification.

The Subversive Family: An Alternate History of Love and Marriage, by Ferdinand Mount (Free Press, 242 pp., $24.95)

"Among ordinary people," posits Mount, "to be happily married [has] always [been] regarded as one of the most important pieces of good fortune in life." However, among critics from Plato to Germaine Greer, it is not so. In their view, families are narrow, insular units where human emotions are twisted into a tangle of pathologies.

In recent years, the presumed discovery by social historians that the nuclear family is a late development—the product of post-Renaissance Western capitalism—has only encouraged these critics. According to the current dogma, pre-industrial people lived in large extended families in which conjugal couples played a small, subordinate role. Children never experienced what we call "childhood," parents took little interest in raising their offspring, and death was so common among infants that parents became indifferent to their fate. Marriages were arranged, with romance playing no role in mating; in fact, what we call "love" wasn't even invented until the twelfth-century French troubadour poets began composing songs for their upper-class mistresses. Where the two-parent family was imposed by church or state, it was a miserable institution equivalent to—as the President's wife once put it—"slavery."

All this, says Mount, is nonsense. As far back as anyone can look in history, we find the nuclear family. People have fallen in love, attempted to marry their heart's own choice (rather than their parents' or peers'), loved their children, raised them in relative privacy, and lived most of their adult lives in husband-and-wife households. In fact, what the social historians have done—something they often accuse everyone else of doing—is to "dehumanize" the people of the past, finding them to be oddly stunted and incapable of practicing the customs we call "modern."

Part of the problem, says Mount, is that the stream of opinion most often sampled by historians is distinctly aristocratic. True, the nobility usually practiced dynastic marriage where property and lineage took precedence over emotional attachment. So too, these arranged marriages often produced poorly matched, loveless couples who found romance only through intrigue and adultery.

But was this the way ordinary people lived? Mount marshals a vast amount of evidence to show it was not. In fact, one of the apparent advantages of being neither rich nor of noble blood was that you were better able to marry whomever you chose.

Mount is utterly devastating in taking apart the tone-deaf researches of historians such as Philippe Aries (*Centuries of Childhood*, 1962) and Edward Shorter (*The Making of the Modern Family*, 1976). Did Medieval painters depict children as miniature adults, as Aries noted in arguing that there was no such thing as childhood in the Middle Ages? Perhaps they did (although they had no difficulty painting the Christ Child as an infant). Yet "those portraitists who represented children in stiff conventional poses represented adults in stiff conventional poses too. Is it possible," Mount asks, "that the changes we are examining have nothing much to do with the history of childhood but a great deal to do with the history of art?"

Mount also zeros in on Shorter's use of popular Medieval proverbs as evidence of "the peasant's affection for his property and the transience of his attachment to human life." According to one French saying: "A man has two good days on earth: the day he marries his wife and the day he buries her." Perhaps so. But "these are *jokes*," Mount patiently observes.

Why have intellectuals since Plato so disliked the nuclear family? (In *The Republic*, paternity would be unknown and children would be raised collectively.) Why are they so easily duped by those theories that see people from the past as an altogether different kind of human being?

Mr. Tucker is writing a book about the family.

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Mount's answer is that intellectuals themselves tend to be anti-family. Because they feel called to higher things, artists, saints, and revolutionaries generally don't make good husbands and wives. "The creation of great art and happy families do not often seem to go together," Mount ruefully acknowledges. In a predictable pattern, these free spirits instead became foot soldiers for chiliastic movements that sought to replace the family with "universal brotherhood." Communism and Nazism were among them, but so was early Christianity—which is what makes Mount's book somewhat unnerving.

There is, of course, undeniable merit in what Mount says. It was Jesus, after all, who said, "I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. . . . He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." There is also an unmistakable sexual asceticism in early Christianity, only partly offset by St. Paul's grudging acknowledgement that "it is better to marry than burn." To this day, the work of the Roman Catholic Church is carried forward by people who have renounced marriage.

So does this make Christianity the equivalent of Communism or Nazism? Mount notes that early in their respective histories all three movements saw the family as a rival institution, but later realized that they needed to incorporate family values in order to avoid ending up at odds with the general population. Christianity had its asceticism, Communism its "free love," and Nazism a weird smorgasbord of sexual notions that included definite strains of homoeroticism.

Although there may be some generic truth to all this, Christianity, for other reasons, has proved to be far more durable than Communism or Nazism and today stands as the principal bulwark against the modern state, which has itself become the principal repository of the intellectuals' anti-family inclinations. Mount tacitly acknowledges this by deftly switching the direction of his criticism and arguing that today's Church is too eager to keep families together.

There are other problems with Mount's thesis. One is his casual acceptance of "freedom to divorce" as just another aspect of "freedom in marriage." Mount's argument goes like this: People want to marry whom they choose. They also want to be able to divorce when a marriage goes bad. Church and state, however, in their attempts to bend human nature to their own purposes, insist that people stay together in loveless marriages.

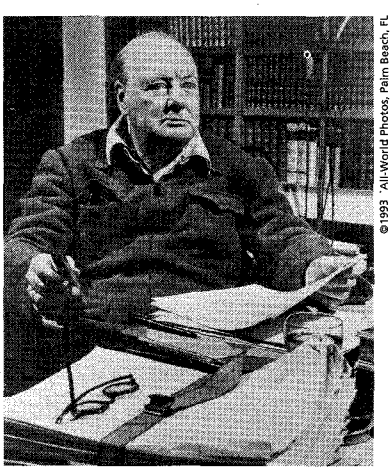
This argument may have made sense a hundred years ago (and probably still applies in parts of Europe today), but the number of cases it covers in contemporary America is obviously very small. The far more common situation is where *one* partner wants to divorce and the other does not—at least not without reasonable compensation. Mount casually blurs the distinction between 1) the brief that couples may have against their parents or larger social institutions for forcing them into marriage, and 2) the brief a husband and wife may have against *each other* about the terms of their marriage. As a result, he entirely misses the role that social institutions play in mediating between marriage partners.

Marriage is a contract that necessarily subordinates the freedom of both parties. This is particularly the case where one partner makes long-term sacrifices on behalf of the other—and transparently true where the raising of children is involved. The question of who is going to make key decisions over the children's future is at least as old as marriage itself and cannot be answered simply by "letting the couple have its own way."

And this brings us to the last problem of Mount's thesis, something that will be glaringly obvious to an American audience: its "Eurocentrism." Mount does a credible job of surveying love and marriage from the love-notes of Sumer and romantic graffiti of Pompeii to the ballads of the Middle Ages and contemporary love songs. What he never acknowledges is that there is a great big world out there in which marriage customs often bear little resemblance to the traditional Western institution. Living cheek-by-jowl with a black-American culture in which 65 per cent of children are born out of wedlock and nuclear families barely exist, no European American can share Mount's easy optimism that if only church and state left well enough alone, the nuclear family would rise again and prosper spontaneously.

Now let us grant that the black-American single-parent culture is itself an exotic artifact of a welfare system that subverts paternal claims and offers young women the opportunity to marry the government. What Mount fails to grasp is that every society is defined by a cultural overlay in which marriage is either a more or a less stable institution. In China, where children basically belong to the father's parents, divorce is almost unknown. In the societies of West Africa, where family membership is determined "matrilineally" (through the mother's line), marriage is highly unstable and the average person marries at least three or four times.

Which system is more "natural"? Maybe neither. The point is that in a highly complex and vulnerable society such as ours, there is a positive benefit for everyone in creating an environment where couples are encouraged to stay together long enough to raise their children to maturity. Where *one person* can opt out of a marriage whenever he or she pleases, that stability disappears. A church or a gov-



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ernment that seeks to uphold the contractual aspects of marriage is not simply acting in its own selfish interest. It is creating a context in which cultural transmission can take place.

Thus, while *Subversive Marriage* is a brilliant examination of the subject, it is also somewhat naïve in its conclusions. Love and marriage may be utterly natural to human beings—as Mount persuasively illustrates—but so are divorce, infidelity, and pure selfishness. While institutions like church and state can be instrusive and manipulative in regulating marriage, they can also be supportive in honoring marriage contracts and holding individuals to their moral obligations. We need more of that today. □

Believing Is Seeing

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

A MINOR thought-experiment: First, imagine 18 essays on the Dreyfus case which begin with the assumption that Dreyfus was guilty. Next, assume that these essays were written in the main by Jews, but Jews hostile to Dreyfus on the grounds that he had betrayed his people by joining the French Army and adopting its anti-Semitic outlook. Finally, suppose that these essayists had constructed a series of elaborate theories on Jews and society to account for the disturbing fact that most Jews, and indeed most gentiles, persisted in the erroneous belief that Dreyfus was innocent.

Race-ing Justice, En-Gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality, edited with an introduction by Toni Morrison (Pantheon, 465 pp., $15)

This book gives some idea of what such essays would be like. It is a collection of 18 articles—by Ivy League academics who are mostly black, feminist, and politically correct—on the 1991 U.S. Senate hearings that revolved around Professor Anita Hill's allegations that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas had subjected her to unwelcome sexual attentions ten years previously when she had been his assistant. Talking about pornographic films (one of Miss Hill's charges) might seem less heinous than treason. But the Hill–Thomas affair divided America quite as bitterly as the Dreyfus affair had divided France.

It still does. For, unlike the Dreyfus case, the Hill–Thomas scandal remains unresolved. Dreyfus's innocence was indisputably established; but no one knows for certain whether Anita Hill was lying when she alleged sexual harassment, or Clarence Thomas was lying when he denied it. There is simply not enough evidence to reach a conclusive verdict either way.

Jennifer Lawson

But the 18 contributors are not concerned with facts in any such vulgar sense. None of them tries to assemble the evidence for Miss Hill and against Mr. Thomas, and certainly not vice versa. They assume Mr. Thomas's duplicity and Miss Hill's rectitude and, that done, go on to consider deeper questions. For instance, if Clarence Thomas was the servile black agent of the Republican establishment's white racism—Man Friday to Mr. Bush's Robinson Crusoe in Toni Morrison's ambitious introduction—why did the polls show him to be supported by most blacks? And, since Anita Hill was plainly telling the truth, why did two-thirds of women disbelieve her?

The answers they give—with a taste for sheer repetition which most readers are unlikely to share—is that the Bush Administration, Judge Thomas himself, and the "corporate media" cleverly exploited various popular myths and stereotypes about race and sex to blur and override the truth both of Miss Hill's allegations and of Mr. Thomas's unfitness for the court.

Only one example they cite is likely to sway a disinterested critic: namely, that Clarence Thomas resorted to such manipulation when he trumped Miss Hill's charge of sexual harassment with his own claim that *he* was the victim of a "high-tech lynching" before millions of people on television. As the authors argue, "lynching" is a term that immediately evoked memories of black men being hanged without a trial because they had been accused of making sexual advances to a (white) woman. This rallied black support and cowed the white liberals on the Judiciary Committee. In the contemporary media game of "Musical Victims," Mr. Thomas had seized the last chair.

But was Judge Thomas wrong to defend himself in this way? Fighting against an allegation of sexual harassment which, while it could neither be proved nor disproved, nonetheless condemned him in the court of public opinion, he responded with an accusation that put his accusers at a similar disadvantage. That was certainly shrewd. Whether it was also cynical and dishonest depends entirely on whether he or Miss Hill was telling the truth.

Only because the authors assume his guilt are they able to denounce his tactics. In a trial, whether an accused person is judged guilty is determined by whether a fact is true or an inference valid. In this book, a fact is judged true or an inference valid if it confirms Judge Thomas's viciousness and Professor Hill's virtue.

This topsy-turvy logic continues throughout. For instance, when Mr. Thomas is quoted describing his rise from poverty, we are told that as the son of the household, he was almost certainly "privileged." Are all black sons of households thus privileged? We are certainly not given that impression by the rest of the book. And when Miss Hill describes her poor but loving and pious parents, no stern accusation of advantage follows.

Indeed, Nellie Y. McKay's picture of Miss Hill as "in her quiet dignity

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR*'s editor.*

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. . . in the splendor of her own radiance . . . an unconquered African-American queen . . ." conveys the image of virtuous feminist celebrity that Miss Hill acquired in the Senate hearings and has retained among her admirers ever since. Miss Morrison's introduction would have been more faithful to the book if the fable she had selected for comparison had been "Beauty and the Beast."

Such relentless partiality is bad enough. When the authors turn to "the Construction of Social Reality," however, they move entirely into the realm of Fancy. In their account, this "Social Reality" is an artificial construction drawn from myths and stereotypes. It is in the light of these that the public interprets the world around it. And since the powers-that-be, however defined, are able to manipulate these myths as Clarence Thomas manipulated the "lynching" metaphor, what we think we see is an Establishment presentation of social reality rather than the real thing. The authors set out to deconstruct this false edifice and to demystify the techniques used to sustain it.

Wahneema Lubiano, for instance, sees the *New York Times*'s placement of Judge Thomas's photograph above Miss Hill's in these terms: "In this photographic arrangement, the missionary position is assumed, or resumed, male on top, female on bottom. *This* placement, a representation of gendered power relations, was the visual harbinger of . . . a new 'American' hero: Clarence Thomas . . . These pictures, through their timing and their spatial arrangement, were signposts for a successful set of narrative constructions, activations, and deployments *by the state*" (my italics). Or here is Homi K. Bhabha on the wider anthropological significance of Thomas's "high-tech lynching" remark: "Thomas offers up a lynched body as a sacrificial object—a totem meal—shared between the senators and himself to expunge the guilt and anxiety generated by Anita Hill's charges."

The general drift of these arguments is to sustain Miss Hill and to discredit Judge Thomas. But it is plain that such reasoning could be used to justify the opposite conclusion, or indeed any conclusion at all. And to do Mr. Bhabha justice, he seems to concede this when he writes: "In providing a knowledge of sexual harassment as a structural endemic condition that finds its social form as affective, even psychic reality, Hill has subtly complicated the question of 'truth.' Thomas can no longer just confirm or deny the allegations, because the widening circle of guilt makes that option futile, or purely formalistic. The very system of truth and falsity within which he operates, as part of the common culture, is founded on the evasion of the endemic reality of women's exploitation."

Is, then, Judge Thomas innocent? Probably not. Indeed the argument here seems to be that Thomas is guilty in theory even if he is innocent in fact. And since theory is generally superior to fact, he is guilty in the sense that really matters. He is on the wrong side of a political argument.

Deconstructing Social Reality, however, is a game two can play. That the authors are in the grip of their own myths is unconsciously revealed throughout. "Feminists, of course, were unanimous in their ardent championship of Hill," writes Christine Stansell, apparently oblivious to the ironic implications of that "of course." Or consider the claim, widely trumpeted at the time and repeated several times in these essays, that Miss Hill was a "Reagan Republican." This claim (which in Mr. Thomas's case was treated as evidence of race treason) was a virtue in Miss Hill because it demonstrated that she could have no ulterior political motive for her allegations. But it turned out to be untrue: Miss Hill has since said that she was a registered Democrat all along. These essays seem unaware of her admission. It does not fit in with Social Reality as seen from the campus.

Nor have the media paid much attention to Miss Hill's admission, nor indeed to other evidence casting doubt on her credibility assembled by David Brock in *The American Spectator*. This somewhat undermines the crucial assumption in several essays that the media were complicit in sustaining the Establishment version of Social Reality and thus in promoting a pro-Thomas campaign. Even at the time, the television news programs and commentaries favored Miss Hill if they favored anyone; for instance, feminist law professor Catherine MacKinnon was a network "expert" on sexual harassment. What then sank Miss Hill was the coverage least controlled by the myths and stereotypes of the media elite: namely, the live unedited televising of the Senate proceedings which allowed the public to judge for itself. And what seems to have produced a greater public disposition to "believe Anita" in the 16 months since then—for no new evidence supporting Miss Hill has come to light—is the media's constant repetition of feminist claims that she was a "victim" who "spoke out" about "her experience" and thus "encouraged other women to do the same," all phrases implying Clarence Thomas's guilt.

The moral of this book is thus the opposite of its argument. The general public sees through the myths and stereotypes of a false Social Reality except when they are the only evidence it is given. It is the left-liberal intelligentsia, including its satraps in the media, which interprets specific events and particular facts in the blinding light of the general ideas to which it is attached. To minds in the grip of ideology, believing is seeing. And when such minds produce books and television news programs, what they see is what you get. □

FILM

Resurrection

JOHN SIMON

WHAT is it that makes American movies, on the whole, less interesting than their European or Asian counterparts? That, however much they try to disguise it (although most of them don't even bother), they are plot-driven. They dream up some really crazy, wild, funny, scary, adorable, tear-jerking characters, then forget about them as evolving or floundering, rational or rationalizing beings, and merely move them around like counters, counterclockwise or clockwise, to fit the exigencies of a baroque, Byzantine, or brainless plot.

And though the dialogue may be tough, snappy, arch, halting, adorably

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inane, Hemingwayesque, Mametian, or prehistoric, it is seldom understated, poetic, pregnant with unvoiced feeling, achingly indirect as so much ordinary yet heartfelt speech is. This dialogue, too, merely subserves the plot, directly or deviously, but does not afford revelations into character, into striving or sputtering souls.

Yet once in a while American film does break through the mold. Such a case is ***Passion Fish*** by John Sayles, whose previous pictures have all been arresting, but more or less flawed. Sayles is a novelist as well as a filmmaker, and it shows in his better movies: they are written as well as shot. But Sayles is canny about dialogue: it must not reveal its literariness if it is to be photogenic. True, there have been a few filmmakers able to stir up waves of verbiage that do not overpower the image or scatter into redundant spume. One thinks of Jacques Prévert in France, a handful of Central and Eastern European filmmakers, and, of course, Bergman.

Passion Fish is the story of May-Alice, a soap-opera actress in New York, whose taxi is side-swiped by another one as she is getting out, and who wakes up in a hospital. She is paralyzed from the waist down. We find this out gradually; the film begins from her point of view, and immediately Sayles's mastery asserts itself. Shot after shot is a close-up or near close-up as May-Alice's hand gropes for the call button on her night table, and overturns a glass and water jar in the process. Her daytime serial is on, featuring a doctor sequence very different from her real-life situation. Throughout the film, television images, voices, and people—whether from her show or from others—act as an ironic commentary on reality.

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For a while, then, nurses, psychologists, physiotherapists (significantly no doctors) surround May-Alice, but are only faceless voices and pairs of arms, admirably conveying the patient's isolation and self-absorption in the midst of zealous, yet ultimately meaningless, assistance. Although (unlike Ronald Reagan) she does find her legs under the covers, they are useless, and her helplessness and despair are eloquently conveyed by various means, not least the number of f-words she hurls forth in impotent rage. Then, with great economy, the movie takes us through the effortful stages of physical therapy, during which May-Alice, at first reluctantly cooperative, refuses to do the necessary to fully regain her upper-body strength. All this is unsentimental and unsensational, leavened with May-Alice's irony, her gallows humor; yet how quickly her bravado can crumble, leaving her sitting or lying in sobs or stupor.

Eventually, she decides to return to her ancestral home in Louisiana's bayou country. The place is a shambles, and her manager did not have ramps installed; what special equipment he did get, lies strewn about. There is a sound, tough woman physical therapist whom May-Alice, however, visits only to satisfy the insurance requirements. Still, she now needs a nurse-companion, and the agency sends her some. We get a hilarious parade of egregious unsuitables, none of whom lasts long, though each contributes to the chief theme: how do we tell sick from healthy, normal from abnormal, reality (the heroine's predicament) from the helpers' fantasies? For these women either bully or neglect her, or, worse, use her as some sort of therapy for themselves.

At last a very different sort of nurse presents herself to a May-Alice almost resigned to drowning her affluent, embittered idleness in alcohol and TV-watching, and ignoring the outside world and its inhabitants. This Chantelle is a youngish black woman from Chicago—a quiet, self-possessed person who takes her job rather more seriously than even May-Alice wants her to. She doesn't lavish undue sympathy on her employer, or try to bully or wheedle her into exercise, eating, living. But by an approach almost as wryly sardonic as May-Alice's own sarcasm, she gets things done. The women's relationship is an armed truce. Chantelle needs her job and does it well even though she's never had one quite like it. May-Alice appreciates her efficiency, but resents her closed-mouthedness and rough-hewn methods as much as Chantelle scorns this white-wine-and-television-saturated white woman, known at the agency as "a bitch on wheels."

They fence verbally. Chantelle can't cook, and responds defensively: "Is there a rule that all black people got to know how to cook?" May-Alice doesn't rise to the bait: "Down here there's a rule that everyone got to know how to cook." Chantelle is equally cagy: "I kind of gross you out, don't I?" May-Alice moans, and the nurse responds sweetly, "Is this a trick question?" Step by step, Chantelle gets May-Alice to do her exercises, sit on her beautiful lakefront by the jetty, become more self-sufficient. But it's hard, and there is a cautiousness, even banteringness, about their acrimony as, underneath, they begin to see each other's good sides. Both women, however, are lonely and sexually deprived. May-Alice even remarks in rowdy detail about not being able to feel anything down there.

Yet when Chantelle brings Rennie to the house—Rennie who was everybody's, including May-Alice's, high-school heartthrob—something stirs in the paraplegic. True, Rennie is married, with five children; but he is the town carpenter and repairman, and soon Chantelle has him building a ramp to the front porch. Chantelle herself meets "Sugar" LeDoux, the much-married, always charmingly randy local blacksmith ("You're a black *something*, all right!"), and she herself slowly thaws out. I mustn't tell you more, except that everything happens by finely observed degrees, as in ordinary life, even though neither of the two women is ordinary. For Chantelle has a murky past from which she must extricate herself.

Sayles—as writer, director, editor—has a sure sense of rhythm. He knows exactly where to cut off a scene to create an *emotional* double exposure, where to speed up or grow leisurely, and how to convey an ambience—the sprawling house, the exotic landscape, a Zydeco band and dance—without

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*

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rubbing your nose in it. Though it is alert to it, the film is not about atmosphere; still less is it about good, simple folks helping May-Alice to get well. Neither the TV people from up North, who come to visit or solicit, nor the local belles, who come out of nosiness and to gossip, are any use. Even the drunken wastrel of an uncle who introduces May-Alice to his hobby, photography, is more help.

Sayles gets splendid support from his fine British cameraman, Roger Deakins. The two are careful to make the visual elements striking, but not lush. The weather is often grey, the vegetation washed-out looking, the house dark but not cozy. Yet when beauty is called for, it is there. Still, even May-Alice's neglected boat, whose rusty motor Rennie fixes, is nothing special. Neither is the car, or the garage that becomes a darkroom. And the lake is full of snakes. Above all, both women are prey to fits of frustration and dejection. There is one brief, wonderful night scene that shows Chantelle as lonely in her little upstairs bedroom as May-Alice is in the big drawing-room watching TV. Chantelle sits on her bed in silhouette, startlingly black against a strange, milky glare: the moon? A night-light? May-Alice's head is lit up fitfully by the TV set, the fluctuating brightness of the images (which we do not see) rippling across her teary face like a tide of uncertainty. Two not quite identical lonelinesses are keenly, visually, contrasted.

There are no big climaxes, only modest mini-ones. Such is a boat ride and island picnic for May-Alice, Chantelle, and Rennie, who is also the local tourist guide, pointing out nature and evoking legends. The interaction among the trio is conveyed lovingly but realistically. Here as elsewhere, little is said, but remarks have a double bottom. Something subliminal is rampant in all three. And here as elsewhere, the film is a blend of sensitivity, wit, and toughness—an unbeatable combination. When a motor breakdown on Rennie's boat delays the return trip till night, and the boat's Cyclopean reflector picks out the nocturnal sights—perhaps no more than a pair of owls motionless on a mangrove branch—a spell is made tangible. Yet nothing overt happens.

The performances down to the minutest ones are just right. But the three principals are marvels. Mary McDonnell makes May-Alice a decent, intelligent, ordinary woman, neither glamorous nor unduly actressy, and not the least bit noble. Her anger and irony are always palpable, as are, later, her coming to life and warmth. But best are her awkwardnesses, sometimes her total helplessness, photographed with the same stark candor with which they are acted. Alfre Woodard's Chantelle is, if possible, even more remarkable. Almost everything she says has a touch of acidity or mockery, yet the actress makes you unfailingly aware of the fragility underneath. She has enormous eyes that bulge a little and contain worlds; they speak much more than her mouth, and seem always a mite anxious, a couple of jumps ahead of tears. But her tears, like her smiles, are rare and faint; nevertheless, the screen is swamped by them.

How subtly the balance of power between the women keeps shifting: now one, now the other is more dependent, needy. And how, almost imperceptibly, they become equals, without any grand sisterly effusion ever. And then the altogether admirable Rennie of David Strathairn. This is the most natural, unactorish performance to be seen anywhere, with every emotion adumbrated, but kept in rigorous—and quite spontaneous—check. Especially lovely is the way the actor's face, body, hands are always doing something natural, useful, unemphatic, human.

How well Sayles writes and directs a scene! Take the coming of Chantelle's father and daughter for a visit. Their arrival by bus, a silent scene in long shot, is a model of camera placement, movement of actors, and wordless, visual comment. Or take the nearest thing to a love scene between May-Alice and Rennie during a crowd frolic. The two voices are very small, colorless, almost throwaways: "Rennie, you don't have to have a job or something to fix to come out and visit." "Yeah? Well, I'll do that then." "Do it real soon." That is all. But, like an assagai, it finds the heart. □

MANNERS AT TWENTYSOMETHING

Saab Story

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

Kate Marion

I HAVE a rule of thumb about the *New York Times* Styles of the Times section: when a trend is reported on there, it means the trend crested weeks ago and is now over. So last weekend when the Styles section noticed the trend of newspaper and magazine articles about the twenty-something generation ("Lost in the Name Game"), I knew that it would be pretty much the last such article. That makes this the opportune moment to pronounce a eulogy on trend stories about people in their twenties.

From the start, it was a media story about media stories. There was, a couple of years ago, the Douglas Coupland novel *Generation X*. But the present series of twentysomething lamentations began with a December cover story in *The Atlantic*, followed by others in *The New Republic*, *Business Week*, *U.S. News*, etc. As each article was in turn referred to by the articles that followed it, the outline of a feature story on the twentysomethings quickly became familiar. The faithful feature writer merely needed to make sure he had included citations to all literature on the subject preceding the story he himself was writing.

The main point of the story is that people of my generation—between the ages of 18 and 32—are desperately in search of a cute moniker by which to

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define ourselves. Are we X-ers or Busters? Boomlets or Cuspers? Thirteeners or members of the Atari wave? Every article nominates its own pet designation, each a little more cloying than the one before.

What everyone seems to agree on is that the twentysomething generation is a less ennobled group than the generation immediately prior. In contrast to the Baby Boomers, we are said to be cynical, lazy, nihilistic. We are said to be resentful of the privileges—financial, social, cultural—accorded to Baby Boomers. We are ambitionless, satisfied to live at home with our parents rather than go out and get a decent job. Or alternatively, we are victimized by the Reagan–Bush recession, not yet rescued by the Clinton recovery, and so are forced to live at home rather than get a decent job.

Dutifully, examples of real-life stories are provided, anecdotes multiply: the 25-year-old actress who went to Yale and yet can't even get work as a temp, much less a Broadway actress. The unemployed lawyer (there are said to be many of these), age 28, law degree from Stanford, forced to take on roommates on the West Side of Los Angeles. A pair of writers in their late twenties contribute an Op-Ed piece to the *New York Times* requesting that the public note that there are two halves to the twentysomething generation: the younger half ("they were raised with unlimited TV privileges, with VCRs. . . . Their nihilism is true nihilism") and the older half: "we're the ones who bought clothes from J. Crew and from Tweeds. We're the ones who had credit cards sent to our boxes at colleges. . . . We wanted to have houses by the beach, Volvos or Saab convertibles in our garages. . . . When Barney's had a sample sale, we trucked on over. . . . We like (politically) Russ Feingold and Bill Clinton. We are like you [Baby Boomers]."

The references to J. Crew (mail-order clothing for aspiring aristocrats), Saabs, and Bill Clinton are the sociocultural giveaways here. According to the reports of our leading media organs, most out-of-work Busters (X-ers?) hold degrees from Ivy League colleges. It should be apparent that what we are looking at is another case of the media industry—in its elite divisions, out of New York, Los Angeles, Washington—talking to itself about itself for the delectation of itself.

Lost in discussions of the twenty-something question has been any awareness of the vast majority of Americans in their first decade of real adulthood—those, in other words, with no adequate media contacts. As usual, Fly Over America (that part of the country which is flown over during cross-continental airplane hops between New York and Los Angeles) figures in these stories as a kind of submerged Atlantis: a place of hillbillies and born-again Christians, mall loungers and pickup-truck jockeys, despised and thus ignored. As any representative of the "mainstream media" could tell you, these yokels wouldn't recognize a Barney's suit if it bit them on the head. Nor do they have any interest in owning a Saab. Unless you count Lake Michigan, they don't live close enough to an ocean to desire a house by the beach.

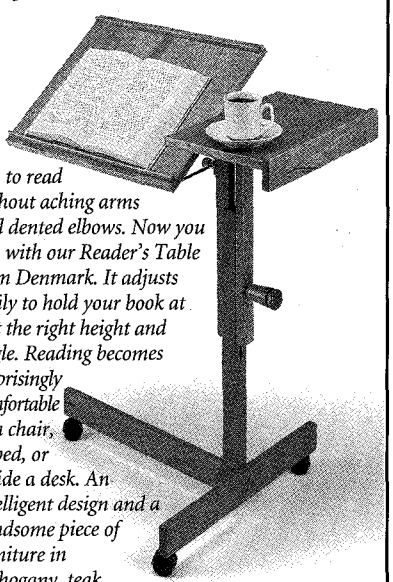
As often as not, when a national trend story is reported out of New York or L.A., it simply means that a reporter has looked around himself, noticed that he and his buddies have been listening to a certain grunge-rock band lately, drinking a certain type of coffee, or buying a certain brand of deodorant, and extrapolated to conclude that the rest of the country is doing it too. (Because the media reach and influence all parts of Fly Over America, it often happens that the rest of the country does in fact come to embrace that rock band, coffee, or deodorant—thus confirming the feature reporter in his extrapolation.)

So when members of the media report that people in their twenties are underemployed, cynical, depressed, nihilistic, what they mean to say is that they themselves, and their friends around the block and on the other side of town, are underemployed, cynical, depressed, nihilistic. It is a recurrent act of solipsism of which only the solipsist himself remains ignorant. The rest of the nation knows perfectly well that the reality reported on is not the reality of Tupelo, Mississippi, or Portland, Oregon, or Gary, Indiana.

As for generational designations, they have meant little in the past: how could you possibly expect to capture the mood of millions of people in one or two words? This was true when the nation still shared experiences, as a nation: experiences of war, of economic depression. We no longer do, though.

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR's literary editor.

Lay Down Your Arms



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At least, our self-identified elite does not share experiences with the rest of the nation—which is why there are still Marxist English professors.

If members of my generation have anything in common, it is that, because we depend on the elite media for our information, we have no way of knowing what the rest of us are feeling or thinking. We can only read the papers and magazines, watch movies and TV, for news of what the Saab and beach-house crowd, in Hollywood and Manhattan, is feeling and thinking. If there ever was a true Lost Generation, this is it. □

DELECTATIONS

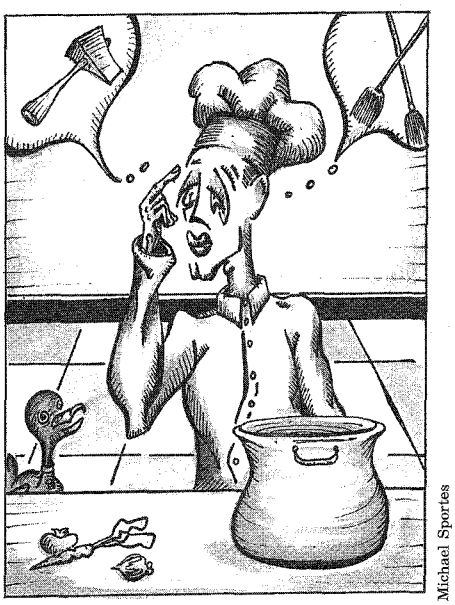
On Killing Things

DIGBY ANDERSON

THERE'S A BOY lives nearby who called round the other day. I don't know how old he is but certainly an age in which many of his contemporaries are fornicating and injecting themselves with drugs. As he came round the back, he found me peaceably strangling a pair of Aylesbury ducks. He turned white and ran away making a curious gurgling sound. The things that should shock this boy don't and the things that shouldn't do. Young persons, especially those from good families, should not only have seen lots of ducks strangled but, if they and their sisters are ever to be good cooks, have learned to kill for the table themselves. So let's start with domestic ducks and geese.

There are two ways of killing (large) ducks and geese. The old English method is to use two broomsticks. Pick up your goose or ducks by holding the base of the wings in one hand. With your other, grip the feet. The bird will obligingly stretch out its neck. One broom handle is on the floor. Place the neck across it at right angles, then lower the other handle on top of the first with the neck caught between them. Quickly—very quickly—stand on the handles and pull on the feet. When you feel the neck give, stop pulling. Do not pull the head off.

The French also make use of the obliging outstretched neck, lowering it onto a block and cutting off the head with an axe or cleaver. One of these methods is necessary because of the length of a goose from its ankles to the top of its neck. This is so great that the usual method for killing chickens—holding ankles in one hand and



Michael Sporties

neck in the other and pulling—does not work. Only chaps with arms like chimpanzees will have enough strength to pull at the span necessary for geese and large ducks. Hence the broomsticks or cleaver. I may add that a cleaver has certain advantages over the broomsticks. If a younger sister or brother is at hand, he, or better she, can be ready with a bucket to catch the blood as it squirts out. This, salted immediately to stop clotting or curdling, is excellent. There may not be much blood in a goose, but it makes a basis for a very good sauce.

Broomhandling and beheading not only mean a speedier and less painful death. If done correctly—which is absolutely essential—they don't mangle the neck. For stuffed goose neck is wonderful. (When the goose is ready to clean, after hanging four or five days, cut off the head and the neck from the body, remove the neck itself leaving the neck skin as a tube. Stuff the skin with ground pork, goose heart, and odd bits of goose, garlic, etc. Sew up the ends. Poach in water for twenty minutes, then fry in goose fat.) The same principle applies to wild animals such as hares. Clean killing is not only kinder, it will mean the hare can be "hung." Animals badly shot with the fur and skin torn do not hang well. Nor can our wives make us gloves with the fur if it's all shot up. (Salt the inside of the skin and dry it for a few weeks. Use worn-out ladies' boots—sorry, ladies' worn-out boots—for leather for the basic glove or, easier, mitten, then line the inside with silk from worn-out knickers and the non-palm outside is covered with fur.)

It is an essential part of a conservative cook's training to learn to kill animals cleanly, as painlessly as possible, and in such a way as to make them best to cook and eat. Our children should learn how to kill domestic rabbits (English: a blow to the back of the head; French: the cleaver again—and don't forget the bucket); how to pick up and handle crabs and lobsters; how to deal with snails by immersing them in the right temperature of water so that they come half out of the shells before they die. Eels, of course, like crabs, lobsters, mussels, and clams, are always bought live. Little David or Mary should be encouraged to keep them—they are quite happy in a domestic bath for a few days—then pick them out with the hand wrapped in a cloth otherwise they will slip on the floor and go into all sorts of places. They have their heads cut off with a single stroke of a very sharp knife.

"Why," I hear you say, "is this essential?" Most fundamentally because food production is a chain that starts with the live animal, goes through its slaughtering, skinning, or plucking, cleaning, cutting up, any further processing or preserving, then cooking and serving. The cook needs to understand the whole chain to understand the last part. Especially today, when many things earlier in the chain are not done the way conservative and elitist cooks demand but to satisfy the masses, we have to move back and take control of the earlier parts of the chain. Unless we shoot and hang the hare, it will not be hung long enough. Unless we kill the chicken, we will not be given its liver and heart and claws.

How can children of conservative cooks be taught to kill, pluck, clean, and butcher? As many as possible must be introduced to hunting, if only

(Continues on page 69)

Mr. Anderson is food columnist for The Spectator *(London) and the author of* The Spectator Book of Imperative Cooking.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 A	2 B	3 I	4 G	■	5 K	6 C	7 F	8 P	■	9 L	10 I	11 O	12 R	13 H	14 D	15 G	■	
16 B	17 G	18 K	19 P	20 Q	■	21 A	22 C	23 I	24 L	■	25 O	26 R	27 F	■	28 H	29 D	30 P	
31 G	32 K	■	33 C	34 J	35 B	36 E	37 H	■	38 L	39 A	■	40 R	41 E	42 K	43 G	44 Q	45 N	
■	46 I	47 P	48 O	49 H	50 D	51 B	52 A	53 R	■	54 E	55 M	56 P	57 F	■	58 C	59 L	60 L	
61 I	62 G	63 B	■	64 C	65 F	66 H	67 R	■	68 I	■	69 J	70 E	71 N	72 O	■	73 P	74 K	
75 D	76 F	■	77 A	78 R	79 G	80 B	81 L	■	82 P	83 H	84 J	■	85 G	86 A	87 I	88 E	89 O	
90 Q	91 R	92 F	■	93 J	94 C	95 D	96 E	97 G	98 N	■	99 I	100B	101J	102F	103C	104H	105M	
106A	■	107F	108O	109E	■	110D	111M	112K	■	113P	114K	115I	116J	117Q	118A	119N	■	
120D	121R	122Q	123E	■	124B	125F	126K	127L	128E	129C	130J	131P	132H	■	133O	■	134I	
135K	136R	137P	138B	139G	140M	■	141G	142L	143A	144C	145N	146F	147O	148H	149B	150D	■	

DEFINITIONS

A. Double dealers? (hyph.) — 39 1 86 52 21 118 143 77 106

B. Like the loser at tennis — 100 35 138 16 51 124 149 2 63 80

C. Airline with direction — 22 58 103 94 33 64 6 144 129

D. Nova Scotia port city — 150 75 50 120 14 95 110 29

E. Luigi's favorite dish — 36 96 128 88 41 54 123 109 70

F. Belladonna — 107 65 102 125 76 92 57 7 146 27

G. Rule by a foreign power — 17 85 62 43 141 79 31 97 139 4

H. Dull knife's friend — 28 83 104 13 132 66 49 148 37

I. Western, Latinately speaking — 115 134 99 61 46 3 87 23 68 10

J. Rank silliness — 101 34 116 93 130 15 69 84

K. Henry Ford rival — 114 74 112 18 126 42 135 32 5

L. Brass — 24 60 59 38 9 127 142 81

M. Henry Ford rival — 140 55 105 111

N. Overcome with glee — 71 145 98 45 119

O. Response — 89 147 133 48 25 11 108 72

P. Come-on — 47 137 82 30 56 113 8 19 131 73

Q. Cobbler's concerns — 122 117 44 90 20

R. Wingtip's makeover — 91 26 121 78 40 67 136 12 53

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

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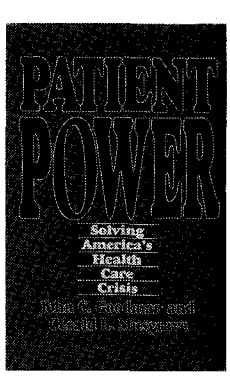

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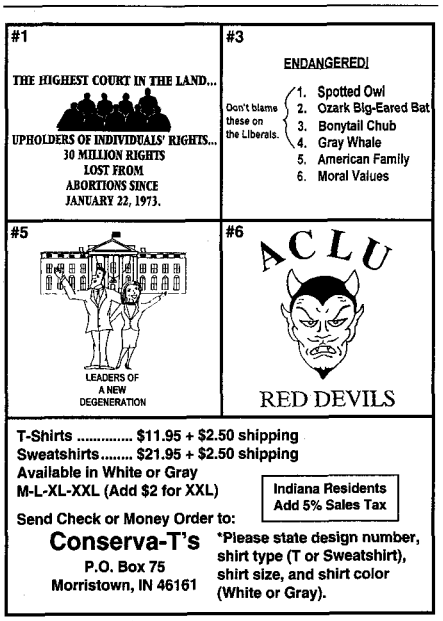
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GENTILE? EDITOR John O'Sullivan discussed correspondence between a Korean-American lady in San José and a Jewish-American professor in Tampa in the February 1 issue of *NR*, page 6, regarding the propriety of "gentile" as a label. Although Mr. O'Sullivan analyzed one letter, there are actually three letters. They are a fun read. The professor calls the lady a "silly snit"; the lady instructs the professor about the extent to which Biblical writ runs in Asia. For a free copy of all three letters, send a S.A.S.E. to: Resisting Defamation Caucus, 2530 Berryessa Road, #616, San José, Calif. 95132. You will not be put on any mailing list or solicited for money.

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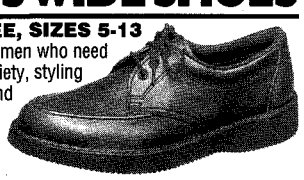

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ANDERSON

(Continued from page 65)

during an annual vacation, and all should keep and kill at least some domestic animals such as rabbits or bantams. If children of reasonably wealthy parents do not have room for a few rabbits or the odd eel—which I doubt—why not try a foster scheme? Here's how it works. You establish contact with a fellow who keeps poultry in the country and you buy him day-old, week-old, or two-week-old, whatever he wants, chicks, ducklings, or whatever. You provide him with some feed. For his part, he looks after them. Every Sunday, the children go and look at them, watch them grow, learn about them. Then, when they are ready, the child has half the chickens or ducks to kill and dress and the small farmer keeps the rest. Everyone benefits and we rebuild some of the bridges between town and country which modern food and cooking have destroyed. Even more important, it makes good cooks and good food. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Jewish Conservative Looks at Pagan America, by Don Feder (Huntington House, 238 pp., $19.99)

LIBERALS have always maintained that they own the monopoly on concern for the underprivileged. Not so, says Don Feder, a columnist for the *Boston Herald*. In this collection of columns, he argues that it is the abandonment of traditional values that has created many of today's social problems—that secularism has produced a "pagan" America. High rates of divorce and abortion are two signs of the excessive narcissism that Feder sees as the source of the problem. He believes that America's salvation can come about only through a return to a common Judaeo-Christian ethic. Indeed, if America were to return to institutionalized religion, some of it's most pressing ills—such as substance addiction and abuse of women and children—might well be significantly reduced. Feder maintains that adherents of traditional religion are much more likely to behave in an ethical manner than are the unreligious. Yes, though surely this simplifies a great deal: one can think of many individuals who, while apparently observant of religious obligations, are in fact morally and spiritually stunted. In any event, Mr. Feder leaves unanswered the hard question of how to inspire the religious revival he prescribes. —MARTIN KROSSEL

Upon This Rock: The Miracles of a Black Church, by Samuel Freedman (HarperCollins, 373 pp., $22.50)

AUTHOR Samuel Freedman, a reformed *New York Times* Metro reporter, is doing something about the superficial way that New York City—particularly anything to do with blacks—is covered by the media. His technique could be described as heavy hanging out. For his latest book, he spent a year—seemingly *every minute* of it—with a charismatic 44-year-old preacher named Johnny Ray Youngblood and his congregants, at St. Paul's Community Baptist Church in East Brooklyn. Freedman works the details, recreating the texture of day-to-day life, so one gets caught up in these quiet, decent lives, and the different ways they intersect with the great hearth of the community, the church. He is also honest enough to broach (albeit with many liberal genuflections along the way) some of the stickier issues: single mothers, the abdication of the fathers. In general, though, this is the kind of sturdy, conservative black community rarely seen in the media. The only real frustration readers will have is with the unrelentingly lyrical, reverent, spellbound tone Freedman adopts. Halfway through, it begins to feel as if he has smeared vaseline on his lens, so that a filmy scrim blocks a clear view of the action. I have been out to St. Paul's and can testify that it is an exciting place; one comes away from this book wishing that Freedman had trusted his characters enough to get out of their way.

—STEPHANIE GUTMANN

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Oh Dear, Hillary

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 10

Two kinds of resentment are crystallizing on the matter of Hillary Clinton. The first of these is that during the campaign she was really something of an impostor. And this is important for reasons not widely touched upon, namely that the American people put presidential candidates through a pretty rough ordeal. The price of glory.

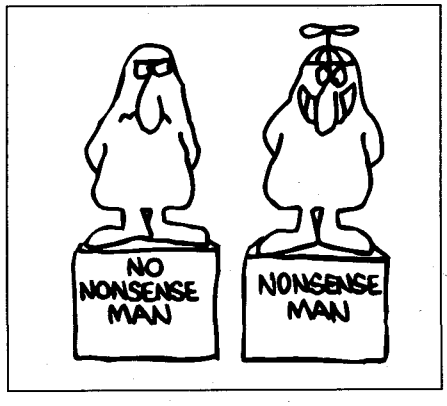
It is to be compared, really, with college and fraternity hazing. At the Virginia Military Institute what are elsewhere called freshman are called "rats." At a different level, of course, presidential contenders are subhuman. They have to stand out in sleet and snow begging passersby to shake their hands; they need to appear as often as a dozen times per day whether to address a recreation room at an old folks' home, struggling against interruptions and the conversational din of deaf or bored old men and women, or to address crowded and critical college audiences. It is something of a psychological payment against the glory that is theirs, beginning the night the winner is chosen: the royal glamor of life in the White House, the deferential treatment for the rest of the retired President's life. On the famous *60 Minutes* program that focussed on the question of marital fidelity, poor Bill Clinton found himself saying plaintively to Steve Kroft: "I have told the American people more than any person running for President. I have said things to you tonight that no American [candidate]" had ever before been asked.

Now Mrs. Clinton was spared that kind of initiation because the assumption was that, after all, it was her husband who was running for office. And on at least one occasion, Clinton sharply rebuked a journalist for acting as though it was she the American people were being asked to vote for or against. Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, the Washington correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, put it this way: "The Clintons engaged in false advertising during the campaign. With great skill, Hillary crafted a softer image more in keeping with the traditional spouse. Hillary did not campaign honestly for the position she now holds. Indeed, she hid behind her husband, only to emerge in the limelight, triumphant, sporting her maiden name, once the votes were safely counted." That, surely, is one cause of the current discontent with a woman who does not hesitate to act as chief of staff for her husband.

A second cause of irritation is the fetishistic hygiene being demanded, all of a sudden, of such as Kimba Wood. One recalls, at that same *60 Minutes* interview with Candidate Clinton, when he made it as plain as one can do that he had at one point been unfaithful. "Are we taking the position that people who have had problems can't run for President?" he asked. No, the American people are not taking that position. But Hillary is acting in a way that would be deeply resented if done by someone in the name of the Religious Right. "That Hillary is a Puritan," the *Telegraph* goes on, "there can be no doubt. She is a secular missionary. Her cast of mind, like that of most liberal activists, would have drawn her to the church in another age. Her biographer, Judith Warner, records that she carries a Bible, but it is for ethical, not religious, guidance."

The disqualification of Judge Wood was done by the President, but there is the sense that his termination of Kimba Wood reflected the censoriousness of his wife. The *Telegraph* concluded in its report to British readers that "the whole saga is an astonishing mix of incompetence and spinelessness."

The mix of formal puritanism (did you pay your nanny the minimum wage?) and intimate, fraternity-style bonding is, to say the least, distracting. Members of Mr. Clinton's Cabinet, grown and, ex officio, distinguished men and women, were brought into Camp David, whereat one or more "facilitators" zoomed in coaxing them to divulge some spillage from their childhood. Mr. Clinton's contribution, evidently, was that he was a fat little boy. He'd have done better to let it out that he is a confused big boy now and, in recent days, something of an embarrassment, for which his wife is the perfect complement. □



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Mr. Clinton's Case For Ignorant Voters

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 8

The Clinton Administration is absolutely determined to take over the authority traditionally exercised by the states to set the laws and establish procedures for voting. Mr. Clinton endorsed a bill recently passed by the House which would require every state, when issuing a motor-vehicle driver's license, to offer to register the applicant there and then as a voter. And then, to guard against the possibility that non-drivers neglect their civic duty to vote in federal elections for the Democratic ticket, when someone shows up asking for welfare payments or for unemployment benefits, he/she will be led into a registration booth. And libraries and schools will also be used as stations for voter registration. All of this is to be in practice by 1995, except that those states whose constitutions need to be changed to accommodate the federal juggernaut will be given until 1996 to bring the law into effect.

The motive behind the law is so obvious as to be truly contemptible. It is a way of saying: "Our guess is that more lazy non-voters, who don't show up on election day, would vote the Democratic ticket." So let's register those voters, if necessary by sending them a registration form on Valentine's Day, with a love-note from Bill Clinton.

The shibboleth that full participation in voting is a sign of civic health is not very thoughtful. The person who does not register to vote may be a slothful civic delinquent, or he may be a negative protester against the kind of government he is getting, or he may be unconcerned about which of the contesting candidates prevails, or he may be too dumb to interest himself in the forthcoming political engagement. Those states that believe that some civic sign-of-life is in order be-

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fore the voter is admitted to the booth are faithful to an entirely defensible tradition. Once upon a time, in order to vote, it was necessary to own property. This qualification was abandoned, along the line, as prejudiced toward property-owners; but other qualifications remained. You had to know how to read and write. These laws were repealed by the Federal Government on the entirely specious grounds that they had been abused to deny the black the vote in the South. Indeed they had been, but what does that have to do with the right of, say, Montana to continue to insist on basic literacy? Nothing. But Montana and other non-southern states that insisted on such a qualification ought to be none of Washington's business. And oh yes, along the line it used to be that you had to read and write in English. That discriminated against Afghan-Americans, so it was dropped.

It is an ironic masterstroke that one week before the House passed the Automatic Registration Bill, President Clinton signed an Executive Order repealing the order issued by President Bush that unionized contractors on federal projects had to post notices informing workers of their rights under the 1988 Supreme Court decision in the *Beck* case. That decision held that a worker required to join a union could decline to the union the right to use his money for political purposes. When Beck sued the Communications Workers of America, it was discovered that 79 per cent of the money being paid into the union treasury was going in the form of donations to (mostly) Democratic enterprises. Mr. Beck asked just where did the unions get the right to levy their workers in behalf of any particular party, and the Court answered, Nowhere: They can levy for the expenses involved in negotiating your contract, but they cannot, as a condition of your continuing to work, force you to give donations to political enterprises.

So that we have Mr. Clinton on the one hand doing everything that he can to increase the size of the vote, while on the other hand doing what he can to conceal from one constituency a knowledge of rights the Supreme Court acknowledges as constitutional. The exact equivalent would be passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1965 and a freeze by southern governors of any mention of what these new civil rights were, anywhere that blacks congregated. If you can stand it, what Mr. Clinton said when he repealed the right-to-know declaration of George Bush was that he was taking this action for the purpose of "reducing unnecessary Federal Government intrusion into workplace relations." Under the Clinton Administration, ten-year-olds must be taught about condoms, thirty-year-olds must not be taught their rights against predatory labor unions, and everybody must be coaxed to vote. Mr. Clinton has a vested interest in public ignorance, so perhaps it does all make sense. □

The High Cost of Harassment

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 15

Defense Secretary Les Aspin has retired the two-man honor guard who conventionally stood outside the SecDef's office, a contribution to the cause of federal husbandry. And President Clinton has dismissed a few chauffeurs who used to take Cabinet members of a certain rank to their offices. The promised reduction of White House personnel by 25 per cent will be accomplished largely by attrition. It will be interesting to see how this program is reconciled with the federal act that forbids dismissal on the grounds of superannuation.

The economies that might be made are, of course, ignored. First among these is the indexation of Social Security. To permit, in 1993, retirement at age 62 with 70 per cent of Social Security payments, rising to 100 per cent at 65, is to stick out one's tongue at the advances of geriatric medicine over the fifty years since Social Security began. The subsidies to the farmers for overproducing continue. But overlooked are the high costs of regulation and mini-regulation. An extraordinary exposé of the extravagance, and incidentally the sheer futility, of the equal-employment racket is done in the February 15 issue of *Forbes* by Peter Brimelow and Leslie Spencer. The article is so rich in anecdote and analysis one can't doubt that it will catalyze volumes of research furthering the authors' discoveries.

A serious effort is made to quantify the cost of our affirmative-action and equal-opportunity programs. A graph depicts the "Quota Iceberg." In the first column is the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Department of Education, "other federal agencies" and "state and local agencies." In the second column we have the direct costs of the governments, of schools and colleges, and of the private sector. The figure comes to $17–20 billion. Indirect costs for government amount to $1 billion, while indirect costs for the private sector come to $95 billion. By far the largest sum comes under "Opportunity Costs," measuring bad hiring, effects on morale, and misallocation of financial resources. These are estimated at $236 billion. The total represents 4 per cent of the GNP.

"The rule of thumb developed by regulation watchers from the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis [is]: Every dollar spent on regulatory enforcement inflicts about $20 in compliance costs. By *Forbes*' count, the Federal Government spent some $425 million on civil-rights oversight in 1991, of which about $303 million appears to be directed at the private sector. Implied private-sector compliance cost: $6 billion."

The authors quote the formidable Gordon Tullock, professor of economics at the University of Arizona, whose special insight is that affirmative action is a "fairly pure form of rent-seeking." It is the means by which special interests use political power to extract subsidies for themselves. "There simply isn't any other economic rationale."

A picture here is worth a thousand words. Here is one, a letter published in *Forbes* from Thomas Maggiore, who is the owner of two restaurants in Phoenix. "In 1987, EEOC's local field office wrote me a letter saying they had reason to believe I didn't have enough women 'food servers' and 'busers.' No woman had complained against me. So the EEOC advertised in the local paper to tell women whose job applications we had rejected . . . that they could be entitled to damages. Twenty-seven women became plaintiffs in a lawsuit against me. The EEOC interviewed me for hours to find out what kind of person I was. I told them in Sicily where I came from I learned to respect women. I supplied them with hundreds of pounds of paper. I had to hire someone full time for a year just to respond to EEOC demands. Six months ago I finally settled. I agreed to pay $150,000 damages, and as jobs open up, to hire the women on the EEOC's list. Even if they don't know what spaghetti looks like. I have to advertise twice a year even if I have no openings, just to add possible female employees to my files. I also had to hire an EEOC-approved person to teach my staff how not to discriminate. I employ 12 food servers in these two restaurants. Gross sales, around $2 million. How much did it all cost me? Cash outlay, about $400,000. What the government's done to me—devastating. I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy." The federal agencies should be jettisoned. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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A *People* Person

I AM one of those folks Barbra Streisand sang about so dramatically, the people who read *People*. Each Tuesday my issues arrives, under my wife's name, and I gobble it up like a giant eclair, in private, in wolfish gulps. Having done so I do not feel, *pace* Barbra, like the luckiest people in the world. In fact I feel sort of dazed, as though I had just been pummeled at high velocity by hundreds of thousands of tiny marshmallows.

Perhaps you think I'm slumming. I am not slumming. I do not disdain *People*; I love it. In a pop culture suffused in irony, fevered by cleverness, *People* is dead to irony, immune to cleverness. I love its reassuring predictability, its knack for reducing everything to the same level of inconsequence. In my current issue, for example, the death of the Resistance fighter who hid Anne Frank's family is noted alongside the announcement that Alex Trebek and his lovely wife are expecting their second child. Birth and Death, the renewal of Life: it's like, you know, the Great Mandala.

People people know that each issue, from front to back, will be nearly identical to the one that preceded it. We do not like surprises. As I write, this week's *People* features on its cover a toothsome TV actress who has taken a new lover even as she makes a startling comeback in a surprise hit series—as distinguished from next week's issue, which will feature a toothsome country singer who has taken a new lover even as she makes a startling comeback with a surprise hit record—or Princess Di. But this week's issue does contain a surprise: a jarring note to rouse us from the pleasant catalepsy that *People* induces in its readers as part of a sacred compact.

On page one, in the space usually reserved for a publisher's note, we find instead a "letter" from *People*'s managing editor. It takes the form of a tribute to the magazine's founding managing editor, Richard Stolley, on the occasion of his retirement. In such circumstances overstatement is forgivable: memorial prose, said Malcolm Muggeridge, is always noteworthy for its "prevailing flavor of syrupy insincerity." The problem here, though, is not insincerity but sincerity; there is little doubt that the letter means what it says.

Mr. Stolley is praised, as he should be, for founding *People*. But he is praised for even more: we are told that he "all but single-handedly invented the genre of personality journalism." Lights flash, sirens sound. *Genre? Personality journalism? People* readers are entitled to blanch. All along, in blissful torpor, we have assumed we were reading gossip vetted by fact-checkers and laundered by Time, Inc.'s lawyers. Gossip, in other words, delivered with a certain sobriety (all the pictures are in black and white), but gossip nonetheless: primped, plumped, and processed for the entertainment of all and the edification of none.

You could of course dismiss this high-toned talk as you would any instance of title inflation. Gossip left to amateurs remains gossip. In the hands of highly paid professionals, it intensifies, by means of genrification, into "personality journalism." I remember Ed Norton, the sewer worker on *The Honeymooners*, telling a pretty girl that his official title was "subterranean engineer." But Mr. Stolley wants more than to assume the title of genre-founder. "*People*," he is quoted as saying, "made the responsible but unrelenting study of personality and behavior a legitimate and even essential part of American journalism." He even uses the word "craft." It's like Henny Youngman citing Bergson in defense of mother-in-law jokes. Mr. Stolley even says this: "Someone once described *People* as having changed the soul of American journalism."

I WANT TO KNOW that person's name. It is a commonplace that the sphere of publishable "news" has greatly expanded since *People* first appeared. Subjects once considered private are now deemed worthy of public attention. And *People*, as chicken or egg, surely played a part. That does not mean, as the magazine's subterranean engineers seem to think, that they have thereby enlarged our store of truth. It would be interesting to compare one of *People*'s pieces of "personality journalism" with, say, a press release concocted by an MGM flack in the Forties. The range of subject matter would be different, of course—the MGM flack would never have described his starlet's undying devotion to her bastard children. But in both pieces of writing, the amount of genuine information would be about the same—which is to say, almost none.

And that's just fine with me. *People* carries its own simple rewards, and not one of them involves the "unrelenting study of personality and behavior." In any case, the magazine will survive its brief dip into pomposity. We people who read *People* know what we like, and the editors like giving it to us; Say's Law holds us both in its immutable power. Where else can I learn—to choose a random item from this week's issue—that Jane Seymour "is eager to quash rumors that she has an affinity for her leading men"? Quash, Jane! Quash, *People*! We hear you! That's the magazine I know and love, and they can't take that away from me.

—ANDREW FERGUSON

"Bad news—our new hair spray causes sterility if taken in massive doses by spotted owls."

Mr. Ferguson is a writer living in Washington, D.C.

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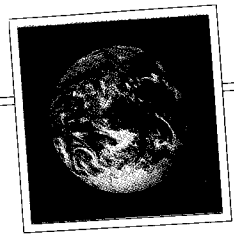

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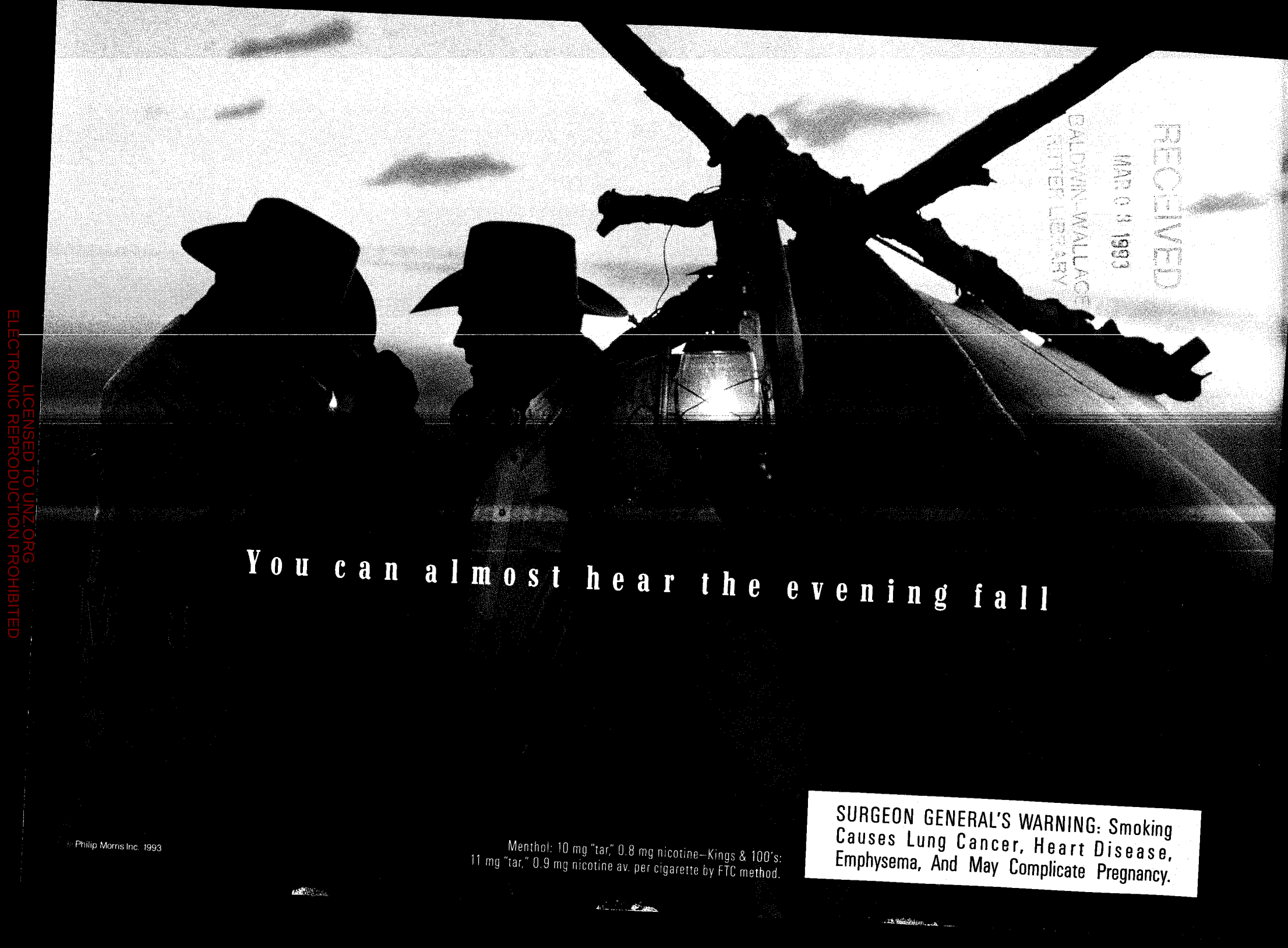

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Menthol: 10 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine–Kings & 100's: 11 mg "tar," 0.9 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.